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WILLIAM MCDONALD D.D.

BISHOP OF CANADA, &c. &c. &c.
AND APOSTOLICAL DEPUTY.

INCLUDING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
SEVERAL EMINENT PRELATES,
FROM 1683 TO 1767 INCLUSIVE.

FIDELITY PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINALS,
AND ILLUSTRATED WITH
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ANECDOTES,
BY JOHN NICHOLS F.R.S. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

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NO. 1, PATERNOSTER-ROW, NEAR ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH.

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PATRICKSON & SON

1803.

LETTERS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

LITERARY, POLITICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

TO AND FROM

WILLIAM NICOLSON, D. D.

SUCCESSIVELY

BISHOP OF CARLISLE, AND OF DERRY;
AND ARCHBISHOP OF CASHELL;

INCLUDING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
SEVERAL EMINENT PRELATES,
FROM 1683 TO 1726-7 INCLUSIVE.

FAITHFULLY PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINALS;

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ANECDOTES,

BY JOHN NICHOLS, F. S. A. E. & P.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS AND SON,

RED LION PASSAGE, FLEET-STREET;

AND SOLD BY MESSRS. LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1809.

LETTERS

VARIOUS SUBJECTS

INTERESTING AND IMPORTANT

P. R. A. C. B.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON, D.D.

SUCCESSION

BISHOP OF CATHART AND OF DERRY

AND ARCHBISHOP OF CATHART

INCLUDING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF

THIS GREAT EMINENT

FROM 1623 TO 1710 INCLUSIVE

THESE LETTERS WERE THE ORIGINALS

OF THE ORIGINALS WITH THE

ORIGINALS AND HISTORICAL

BY JOHN ALANSON, ESQ.

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OF THE ORIGINALS WITH THE

P R E F A C E.

THIS Collection of Letters requires little Introduction. They were preserved by the learned Primate with peculiar attention ; and were purchased by their present Editor, in 1808, at the sale of the Library of the Rev. Edward Marshall, M. A. formerly of Clare Hall, Cambridge ; who for several years was Librarian to the Duke of Devonshire, and obtained, late in life, the Vicarage of Duxford in Yorkshire. Mr. Marshall intended to have published them ; but died, before he could make up his mind on the subject, at the age of 86, March 28, 1807.

The literary talents of Archbishop Nicolson are well known; and the Correspondents with whom these Letters demonstrate his intimacy, reflect on him an additional lustre.

Archbishops Sharp, Dawes, Wake, Blackburn, and Boulter; Bishops Gibson, Kennett, Atterbury, Stratford, Robinson, Talbot, Tanner, and Downes; with Mander, Wallis, Evelyn, Hickes, Charlett, Todd, Burscough, Pearson, Smith, Thoresby, Lhwyd, Wharton, Morton, Woodward, Thwaites, Wilkins, Chamberlayne, Madox, &c. (of the greater part of whom some brief memoir is given in the Notes) are names which few individuals could boast among their intimates.

For the Letters themselves no apology can be requisite. Those of the earlier period are particularly interesting to the Natural Historian and to the Antiquary; and the latter part, consisting principally of those of Dr. Henry Downes, successively Bishop of Killala, Elphin, Meath, and Derry, whilst they display the pleasantry and amiable disposition of the writer,

writer, develope some of the secret springs of promotion in Ireland during the latter part of the reign of King George the First, as those of Dr. Wilkins had previously done for a somewhat earlier period in England.

The imperfections of the Notes, it is hoped, will be pardoned; when the Editor acknowledges that they were a part only of the numerous avocations to which he had recourse to divest his mind from brooding over a calamity of the most melancholy nature; the destruction of the greater part of the labours of a long and a laborious life.

JUNE, 1809.

J. N.

which the above note of the secret springs of
the river of King George the First, as those
of the William and Mary done for a some
WILLIAM WILKINSON

The importance of the Notes is hoped
will be manifest when the following account
is given of WILLIAM WILKINSON, son of the Rev.
James Wilkinson, in which it is shown that
he was born at that village in 1655. He was
both physically and mentally of considerable
strength. His father was son and heir of
Joseph Wilkinson, of Aylesbury, who in that
county, gentleman, by his wife, Lady
Scott, daughter of an estate at Park House, in
the parish of St. Andrew, which estate descended
to Catherine, eldest surviving daughter of Sir
Richard Wilkinson, the mother of Mary, daughter
of John, Baron, of Cotton, who
in 1678, at the age of 12, this Wilkinson
was entered in Queen's College, and in
1678 was sent by Sir Joseph Wilkinson, then
Baronet of Aylesbury, to London, in order to get
acquainted with the French and other
languages. There he remained
in 1681, and in 1682, a pupil of the
Academy of the French and Italian languages.

BRIEF MEMOIRS
OF
ARCHBISHOP NICOLSON.

WILLIAM NICOLSON, son of the Rev. Joseph Nicolson, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, and Rector of Orton near Carlisle, was born at that village in 1655. He was both paternally and maternally of Cumberland extraction. His father was son and heir of Joseph Nicolson, of Averages Holme in that county, gentleman, by his wife Radigunda Scott, heiress to an estate at Park Broom, in the parish of Stanwix; which estate descended to Catharine eldest surviving daughter of Archbishop Nicolson. His mother was Mary daughter of John Brisco, of Crofton, Esq.

In 1670, at the age of 15, Mr. Nicolson was entered at Queen's college; and in 1678 was sent by Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary of State, to Leipsic, in order to get acquaintance with the High Dutch and other Septentrional languages. There he translated an Essay of Mr. Hook's, towards a proof of the motion of the Earth from the Sun's parallax,
out

out of English into Latin, which was there printed by the Professor who had recommended the task.

July 23, 1679, he, after a short tour into France, completed his degree of M. A.; and, in the same year, was elected and admitted Fellow of Queen's College*; and was ordained Deacon Dec. 28.

In 1680, he published an account of the state of the kingdoms of Poland, Denmark, and Norway, as also of Iceland, in the first volume of the English Atlas; whereof he afterwards composed the second and third volumes (treating of the Empire of Germany) without any assistance. The same year he was sent by the Vice-chancellor to wait on George Lewis Prince of Brunswick-Hanover, at Tetsworth, in his way to the University, where the next day his Highness was complimented with the degree of a Doctor in the Civil Law.

Sept. 5, 1681, he was ordained priest; and was in that year collated by Bishop Rainbow to a vacant prebend in the Cathedral Church of Carlisle, and also to the Vicarage of Torpenhow; and in the year following to the Archdeaconry of Carlisle, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Thomas Musgrave.

* Several particulars in the early part of Dr. Nicolson's Life may be found in Mr. Ballard's Collection of Letters in the Bodlean Library.

In 1685 he wrote a letter to Mr. Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, concerning a Runic inscription at Bewcastle in Cumberland, printed in the Philosophical Transactions, Number 178; and likewise a Letter to Sir William Dugdale, concerning a Runic inscription on the font in the church of Bridekirk, dated at Carlisle, Nov. 23, 1685, and printed in the same Number of the Transactions.

Dr. Hickes mentions his assistance in the Thesaurus, tom. I. præf. p. iv. “Qui pluries à nobis in difficilibus & obscuris, tanquam oraculum planè consultus, semper ad nos responsa lucis plena, quibus omnia explicabat, summâ cum humanitate, & sine morâ dedit.”

In 1696, he published the first part of his English Historical Library*. The next year he published the second part; and in 1699, the third and last part. In 1702 he published one

* In Chap. IV. of the first part of the “English Historical Library,” Nicolson alludes to himself as the person to whom the labour of drawing up a Saxon Grammar was referred by Bishop Fell. See Wanley’s Note in Hist. Engl. Lib. in the Bodleian; who also mentions, that Fell’s transcript of Junius’s large Lexicon, now in the same library, was made for him by Nicolson when a young man.—Some account of the “Historical Libraries,” not very advantageous to the author, may be found in Tyrrel’s Preface to the second volume of the History of England, p. 5, 6, 15. See also Wood’s Athenæ Oxonienses, ed. 2. vol. II. col. 980-1, and M. Davies’ Athenæ Britannicæ, p. 1, p. 315, and seqq.

for Scotland ; as he did likewise one for Ireland in 1724.

Mr. Atterbury having reflected on some parts of the “ English Historical Library, particularly relating to Convocations ;” our Archdeacon vindicated himself in a Letter to Dr. Kennett*.

In 1702, on the eve of Ascension-day, he was elected Bishop of Carlisle ; confirmed June 3, and consecrated June 14 at Lambeth ; which promotion was obtained by the interest of the house of Edenhall.

Sept. 15, 1704, Dr. Francis Atterbury waited upon Bishop Nicolson at Rose, for institution to the Deanry of Carlisle. But, the Letters Patent being directed to the Chapter, and not to the Bishop ; and the date thereof being July 15, though the late Dean (Grahme) did not resign till the 5th of August ; and moreover, some dispute arising about the Regal Supremacy ; institution was then refused : but the Bishop declared, at the same time, that the affair should be laid forthwith before the Queen : and that if her Majesty should, notwithstanding these objections, be pleased to repeat her commands for giving Dr. Atterbury possession of the Deanry, institution should be given. The Queen was pleased, by her Secretary of State, to intimate her pleasure to the Bishop to institute the Dean ; which was instantly obeyed.

* Transcribed at large in p. 228.

In 1705 the Bishop was elected F. R. S. ; and published his “ *Leges Marchiarum, or Border Laws* ; with a Preface, and an Appendix of Charters and Records relating thereto.”

In 1707, Dr. Atterbury the Dean being never at rest, and continually raising fresh disputes with his Chapter; the Bishop endeavoured to appease them, by visiting the Chapter, in pursuance of the power given by the Statutes of King Henry VIII. at the foundation of the Corporation of Dean and Chapter. But Dr. Todd, one of the Prebendaries, was instigated by the Dean to protest against such Visitation ; insisting upon the invalidity of King Henry the Eighth’s Statutes ; and that the Queen, and not the Bishop, was the Local Visitor. During the course of the Visitation, the Bishop suspended, and afterwards excommunicated, Dr. Todd : whereupon the Doctor moved the Court of Common Pleas for a Prohibition, and obtained it unless cause shewn. In the mean time these proceedings alarmed the whole Prelacy ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a circular letter on the subject to all his Suffragans* : and very soon afterwards a Bill was carried into Parliament, and passed into a Law †, which took away those doubts, by establishing the validity

* See this Letter at large in p. 365.

† See this Act in p. 379.

of the Local Statutes given by King Henry VIII. to his new foundations *.

In 1713, he wrote an Essay, or Discourse, to be affixed to Mr. Chamberlayne's book, containing the Lord's Prayer in one hundred different Languages; which is most justly appreciated by Dr. Hickes †.

By King George the First he was, in 1715, appointed Lord High Almoner; an office which was resigned in his favour by his friend Archbishop Wake.

In 1717, a collection of papers scattered about the town in the "Daily Courant," and other periodical papers, with some remarks addressed to Bishop Hoadly, were published by Bp. Nicolson in an octavo volume.

On the 17th of March 1717-18, our excellent Prelate was nominated to the Bishoprick of Derry in Ireland; but was allowed to continue Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Almoner till after Easter. He was consecrated Bishop of Derry, May 2.

In the following year he wrote a Preface to the third edition of Dr. Wilkins's "Leges Anglo-Saxonicae."

* Bp. Nicolson published, on this occasion, "Short Remarks on a Paper of Reasons against the Passing of a Bill for avoiding of Doubts and Questions touching the Statutes of divers Cathedral and Collegiate Churches." 4to; in one half sheet, without date.

† See his Letter on that subject, p. 414.

He published seven single Sermons *

On the 9th of February 1726-7, he was translated to the Archbishoprick of Cashel; but died, suddenly, on the 14th of that month; and was buried in the Cathedral at Derry, without any monumental inscription.

He married Elizabeth youngest daughter of John Archer, of Oxenholme near Kendal, Esq. by whom he had eight children.

1. Thomas; who lived only a few days.

2. Joseph, Chancellor of Lincoln; who married, and had two daughters. He died in September 1728 (See p. 594).

3. John, a clergyman; who was preferred in Ireland. He also married, but had no child.

4. Mary, married to the Rev. Thomas Benson, Prebendary of Carlisle; and died without issue. (See pp. 337. 500.)

5. Catharine, living unmarried in 1777.

6. Elizabeth, married to Bellingham Mau-leverer, clerk; by whom she had thirteen children, most of whom were living in 1777.

7. Anne, married in 1724 to ——— Bolton,

* 1. "On the Accession of King James II. 1685; Prov. xxiv. 21." 2. Before the House of Lords, on the 30th of Jan. 1703-4; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. 3. For the Society for the Reformation of Manners, 1706; Judges, v. 8. 4. Before Queen Anne, on the anniversary of her Accession, 1707, Lev. xxv. 20, 21. 5. On 2 Kings, ii. 21, 1712. 6. A Spital Sermon on Easter Monday 1716, Esther ii. 8, 9. 7. A Charity Sermon 1716; Ephes. ii. 8, 9.

Esq. by whom she had two sons. She died in December, 1726. (See pp. 582. 590. 613. 621).

8. Susanna, who died at Dublin, unmarried, in 1720. (See p. 522.)

The Archbishop left three manuscript volumes, in folio, to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, consisting of copies and extracts from various books, manuscripts, registers, records, and charters, relating to the Diocese of Carlisle; from which many articles in the “History of Cumberland” (by his nephew Joseph Nicolson, Esq. and Dr. Richard Burn) were transcribed.

There is also a large octavo manuscript of his, containing miscellaneous accounts of the state of the churches, parsonage and vicarage houses, glebe lands, and other possessions, in the several parishes within the Diocese, collected in his parochial visitation of the several churches in the years 1703, 1704, and 1707, which in 1777 was in the possession of his nephew*.

* Bagford, in his Catalogue prefixed to Gibson’s edition of the Britannia, 1695, advertised, as ready for the press, but still remaining in the Dean and Chapter’s Library at Carlisle, a Description of the antient Kingdom of Northumberland, by Bp. Nicolson, when Archdeacon of Carlisle, consisting of eight parts. The Bishop might have intended as much; and no man was more capable of executing such a plan. But we are assured by Mr. Wallis, in the Preface to his Account of Northumberland, that all that can be found in Carlisle Cathedral Library is only a compendious ecclesiastical view of that Diocese in a parochial method.” See more on this head in the late Mr. Gough’s “Anecdotes of British Topography,” vol. II. p. 53.

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(1)

BISHOP NICOLSON'S

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

1. TO THE PROVOST OF QUEEN'S*.

HON. SIR,

MARCH 26, 1683.

I WAS not a little surprized to hear (by the last post) that you had been pleased to communicate my late letter to the Society: and, withal, to express your resentments of it as a reflection upon yourself. In which part the reflection lay, I am not able to guess; nor does my correspondent inform me. The complaint I made of my own hard usage, in

* Timothy Halton, B.D. 1662; D.D. 1674; archdeacon of Brecknock 1671, of Oxford 1675. He was also canon of St. David's, and rector of Charlton-upon-Otmore; and was elected, April 7, 1677, a provost of Queen's, where he is thus noticed on the tomb of Provost Smith and Mary his wife: "To the memory also of Timothy Halton, D.D. uncle to the above Mrs. Mary Smith, and son of Miles Halton, of Graystock in Cumberland, Esq. He was provost of this College, sometime vice-chancellor of the University, archdeacon of Oxford and Brecknock, canon of St. David's, and rector of Charleton-on-Otmore. He died July 21, 1704, aged 72; and his remains have been removed into the vault of this chapel. He was a considerable benefactor to the College." Gutch's Colleges and Halls, p. 170.

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being

being reprehended for a crime much more venial than what in others had passed unregarded, is no more than I had before insisted on in your lodgings: and you then seemed to take the words, as I always meant them, to be solely aimed at your pick-thank informer. I remember, sir, I then told you I did not at least dread the sentence of a scrutiny; because (upon enquiry) you would find a great many others, whose misdemeanours had hitherto been hushed up and concealed, to stand in greater need of an act of indemnity than myself. And (let me assure you, sir) all the passionate thoughts I have since had on that subject were darted at the good-natured gentleman that has managed this and many other underhand stories to my disadvantage. If there were any expression in that letter liable to the construction which you were pleased to put upon it, I humbly beg leave to revoke or change it; protesting, that, how unfortunately soever my pen might slip, my thoughts were very far from the least shadow of a disrespect. But, sir, for what I have hinted against some particular members of the Society, I do not find myself under any obligation to retract; especially since their gentile behaviour, by their late orator, has obliged me to say somewhat in my defence. For what I mentioned of *set duels*, the greatest part of the Society were eye-witnesses, and can inform you without me. The *perjury* I hinted at was this: immediately after the last election for Taberdars, myself and another of the Society (both of us able enough to construe the oath tendered at elections) expostulated on the management of that affair with your Charlton * curate in private: and

* The Provost's rectory; see p. 1.

had this account of himself from his own mouth :
1. That he did indeed give his vote for *Canon*. 2. That he believed the two that were laid aside were the more deserving : but that, 3dly, his obligations to the Provost were so great, that had his own brother stood under the same qualifications with *Simson* or *Harrison*, he should, however, have given his voice as he had already done. Upon the hearing of this, we both told him he was perjured : and wished him to repent. But, instead of taking our advice, the gentleman gloried in what he had done ; adding, that he had yet another motive which had induced him to these carriages—the thoughts of some of us having *reigned* (as he was pleased to term it) at former elections, and a resolution to see us truckle at this. I shall, sir, leave the story to your own comment ; and dare the whole cabal of my back-friends at *Queen's* to give the like instance of my behaviour since I was admitted one of their members.

There was no need, sir, of their dispatching a courier to stop my return into their Society. I was not so much enamoured of their company as to desire it, after I had heard that you had been pleased to declare to sir Joseph * that my late carriages to yourself had not merited any such favour at your hands. However, since their best expedient was to blacken my reputation with my patron, they will, I hope, give me leave to make use of another rhetorician in my behalf ; one, possibly, of as ready

* Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state to King Charles II. He was the countryman of Dr. Nicolson ; and the steady friend and patron, by whose interest he was sent to travel, first into Germany, and afterwards into France.

parts and elocution as their own, and whose instructions shall be as full.

For what, sir, has been observed in my late behaviour to yourself, give me leave once more to add, that it is not in your power to make me ungrateful. All the slights you can put upon me cannot extort from me a thought that looks that way. In short, I have been hitherto, and should be happy in having any opportunity of shewing with how much zeal I still continue,

Sir,

Your most grateful and faithful servant,

W. NICOLSON.

2. TO THE PROVOST.

HONOURED SIR,

MAY 7, 1683.

I LONG since received the orders you were pleased to send me (by Mr. Tunstall) of reading over, and seriously reflecting upon, two oaths you fancy might touch me as nearly as a third did somebody else: and, after a most deliberate reflection upon my late carriage towards some of your Society, I do not see any great reason to be out of charity with my ears. The first cautions me against revealing such secrets of the College as might tend to the disgrace of the whole Society, or any of its members. Now, sir, I must confess that the deeds of darkness, which I have lately taken the liberty to rip up, are *Secreta Domûs*: and such as will not much advance its credit abroad. But all the little helps

helps I have in the country for construing a piece of Latin are not sufficient to convince me, that the phrase *extrinsecus revelare* is of that dismal importance to me as you seem to make it. I suppose, sir, the delinquents at Queen's have endeavoured to persuade you that I was at the expence of a bellman to proclaim the mysteries of their last election at Cheapside and Charing-Cross: whereas the truth is, I never communicated the intrigue to any others than had taken the same oaths with myself, and who formerly used to be reputed *Socii perpetui*. And to make these men acquainted with some of our modern proceedings is no more *Aulæ secreta extrinsecus revelare*, than to chat them over in the common-room; or, at most, no greater fault than their own acquainting me with their behaviour in that affair, after they had so far disbanded me as not to allow me to throw in a voice among them. The other oath you mention obliges me to promote, to the utmost of my power, *Aulæ meliorationem*; and to be a benefactor to the College, if ever God shall bless me with abilities. I well remember, sir, the taking of this oath; and I acknowledge the tie it lays upon me to be sacred. But I humbly crave leave to tell you, that the *Aulæ meliorationem* does not wholly consist in erecting new quadrangles, or repairing the old one. No, sir, we have already too good lodgings for the inhabitants, when this principle is maintained, *that ingenious men are to be laid aside, as disturbers of the common peace and troublesome in a Society*. When I heard this axiom asserted as a proposition as infallible as any in Euclid, and saw measures taken accordingly by such as began now to reign
at

at elections; I fancied I could not better promote the true interest of the House, than by countermining the design, and endeavouring to prevail with some man of authority to interpose. If, by this means, I could break their measures, and retrieve some few lads of parts and merit (marked out for destruction), I thought I might possibly be happy in doing the College some real service; but never expected to be twitted with perjury, by any man of sense, for my pains. I hope, sir, by degrees, yourself may come to have a better opinion of this piece of managery; and believe I am not so great an enemy to the prosperity of Queen's as some would represent me. I expected no thanks from a majority of your present Fellows; and I do as little value their raillery. All the favour I desire, is only from yourself; that you would endeavour to entertain more candid thoughts (than prejudice will yet give you leave to do) of,

Sir,

Your, &c.

W. N.

3. TO THE REV. —, RECTOR OF —*.

SIR,

MAY 15, 1689.

THE untowardness of our present circumstances, above any other part of the Nation, calls for speedy councils; and urges us to a resolution of being (if possible) unanimous among ourselves. We are

* This letter was circular through the archdeaconry of Carlisle.

alarmed

alarmed with the noise of Revolters from the Army on one hand, on the other with a dreadful story of Popish Highlanders ready to make incursions upon us; and, at the same time, we have little emissaries busying themselves in persuading our people to believe that all their Parsons are resolved (upon the first occasion) to declare for King James. Now of all the dangers that encompass us, I cannot but look upon the mischief designed us by these petty envoys as infinitely the most terrible. They endeavour to draw off our friends, by a pretended authority from ourselves, to fight the Popish battles, to the final extirpation of our Church and Religion; and they provoke our enemies, upon the first popular insurrection, to fall on us, as abettors of Idolatry, and traitors to our own Establishment. And it must be confessed that some of the more unwarily scrupulous among us have given too great encouragement to these wicked attempts.

I am glad to find us so generally concerned to preserve and keep close to our antient principles of loyalty, which have hitherto been the glory of our Church; and may they for ever continue to be so! But to live answerably in our practices requires a deal of unprejudiced reasoning and circumspection in some junctures, lest we misplace our obedience; and, out of a true design to approve ourselves most steadily loyal, fall into the very dregs of treason and rebellion. We have now a Prince and Princess seated on the English throne, in whom we are ready enough to acknowledge all the accomplishments that we can wish for in our governors, provided their title to the present possession of the Crown were unquestionable: and therefore, methinks, we should

should rather greedily catch at any appearance of proof that may justify their pretensions, than dwell upon such arguments as seemingly overturn them. And truly, for my own part, I cannot but think that a very little pains will set us right, and thoroughly convince us that we are really as happy as we desire to be*.

That his late Majesty's deserting his government divested him of his regal authority, and (by consequence) superseded our allegiance to his person, is what we are obliged to believe to be the unanimous opinion of all the Lords (Spiritual and Temporal) and Commons of the kingdom; and, certainly, we may safely acquiesce in their joint determination of the most difficult case of conscience. It was hence that the Lords residing in and about town, thought it convenient immediately to seize the government, civil and military: which being done without any derived authority or commission from king James, is an evident demonstration that they thought his power at an end. It was on the same bottom that the Lords and Commons (afterwards) jointly addressed the Prince of Orange, to take upon him the government, and to issue out his circular letters for the

* Our laws will justify (nay, they enjoin) the paying of allegiance to a King *de facto*: and this a common reasoner would think enough to prove, that an occupant of the throne is a *lawful successor* to the prince that went before him. But our modern scruples are not to be removed with such easy and familiar arguments: so that it will (I know) be expected that the Prince of Orange be evidenced to be our King *de jure* (that is, I suppose, by the laws of common equity as well as the statutes of the realm) before we can freely pay him the tribute of our obedience. And neither does this undertaking seem to me so strangely terrible, but that a man may venture on it. W. N.

calling

calling of a Convention, that might heal our distractions, and refix the unhinged Regal power.

Thus far we generally agreed in our verdict. And are we angry that the Convention did not recall King James? If the government was deserted by him, it had certainly been a piece of extraordinary good-nature to have courted him once more into the throne; when, in all probability, our religion and liberties would be better secured in other hands. The short of our case is, the late King was pleased unexpectedly to leave us; and their present Majesties have stepped into the throne as the next lawful successors. And where is the mischief of all this? You and I are not yet called upon to give our assent to every vote that passed in either House of Parliament in the management of this matter; and, I hope, we never shall. But, I think, we ought thankfully to join in the last result of their councils: that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, are honestly and legally seated in the English throne. And this may be done without an unnecessary acquainting the world with our opinion whether the Royal dignity has devolved upon them by right of succession, or they have attained it by a new grant from the people.

There are some objections against this doctrine, that by popular consent are received as pretty things, and go off as current coin, without ever examining into their true weight and intrinsic value.

The first is, supposing King James's deserting his crown and forfeiture of his regal dignity, ought not the pretended birth of the Prince of Wales to have been examined into, before the Prince and Princess of Orange had been proclaimed King and Queen?

Or,

Or, at least, should not that matter be now laid open to the world, for the satisfaction of all their Majesties scrupulous subjects?

I presume the raisers of this objection mean, that the rabble should be satisfied in this great point: and yet, had the Convention taken the leisure to do it before they proceeded to the proclaiming the King and Queen, that very rabble had (in all likelihood) beaten down Westminster Hall about their ears. The wiser part of the Nation know well enough there can be no such thing now as an enquiry into that affair. We ought to remember, that it has been agreed to by a majority of both Houses, that the government was dissolved, the throne vacant, &c.: so that to start an enquiry about an hereditary right to the Crown would (at this time) endanger the bringing on us such a storm as we have no manner of occasion for. Besides, I should think, we ought all to desire to part with his late Majesty with as much respect, and as quietly, as is possible. The unraveling the mystery of the Prince of Wales would, as we may well imagine, cast such reflections on the late King, as might tempt some forward people to entertain very sorry notions even of Monarchy itself (for all men have not the gift of true logical thinking); and it is, at least, ill-manners to be over-busy in prying into the failures of Princes.

Another scruple upon some uneasy people is this; we have had strange stories of a league with the French King for the destruction of Protestants, though now not a word of making good the report. And yet this did, as much as any thing, alienate the minds of his late Majesty's subjects, and gave as great a blow to his affairs as the Dutch army.

And

And was there nothing else in his conduct that turned our stomachs? Why, truly, then we were undoubtedly the best-disposed Nation in the world for the doctrine of passive obedience. But suppose we have reason to believe that he is now engaged in such a treaty; can we think that he intends, with an army of French and Irish Papists, to establish the Protestant Religion, and a free Parliament? If a league of this nature was enough to countenance the driving him hence, shall not another of the same stamp go a great way towards the keeping him out?

The third and main objection is raised from the Archbishop of Canterbury's * declining to pay his allegiance to their present Majesties. His Grace is known to be a person of eminent learning, piety, and firmness to the Church's interest: and therefore, I confess, his example ought to carry a great deal of authority along with it. But I should rather choose to follow him in the more frank and open passages of his life, than in this unaccountably dark and mysterious instance; especially since I had tacitly consented to his seizing the Tower of London, and his address to the Prince of Orange to accept the government. Besides, whatever weight may be in this objection on the other side of Trent, I think the Clergy here have all the reason in the world to have as sacred a regard to the behaviour of their own Metropolitan and Diocesan, as his Grace of Canterbury.

* Dr. William Sancroft; who had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury Jan. 27, 1677, was suspended, for not taking the oaths of allegiance to king William and queen Mary, Aug. 1, 1689; and deposed Feb. 7, 1689-90. He died Nov. 24, 1693, æt. 73; and was buried in the church-yard of Fresingfield, in Suffolk.

In

In short, sir, we have the judgment of a vast majority of both the Divines and Lawyers of the kingdom, that a firm allegiance is due to their present Majesties, King William and Queen Mary. And the pressing necessities of our Church call for a speedy resolution of letting the world know (to the astonishment of our enemies and comfort of our friends) that we are heartily of the same opinion.

I am, yours, &c. W. N.

4. MR. WHARTON * TO MR. H. TODD.

WORTHY SIR, LAMBETH, OCT. 28, 1689.

I WISH this letter may find you at the place to which I direct it: for in yours of October 10th you insinuate yourself to be from home; and, in both

* Mr. Henry Wharton, a very learned and laborious Divine, librarian at Lambeth under archbishop Sancroft, drew up an accurate Catalogue of the MSS. there, with transcripts of all the unprinted tracts, and an exact collation of all the printed ones; but into whose hands that Catalogue is fallen is now unknown. His own MSS. were purchased by archbishop Tenison, and deposited in Lambeth library. The original Catalogue of these, in his own hand-writing, was in the library of the late John Loveday, esq. of Caversham; and a list of them is incorporated in the first volume of Dr. Wilkins's Catalogue. Many MSS. having since been added to that valuable library, a second volume of the Catalogue was drawn up by the late Dr. Ducarel; and the whole, with considerable additions, is now printing under the superintendence of

letters, the seal, being fixed upon the name of the place when you wrote them, defaced them. I give you my hearty thanks for both your papers sent to me; and, with your leave, intend to publish the first in your own words and name. Your generous offer of sending up all your Collections to me, and assisting me farther in writing an exact history of your church, I also most thankfully acknowledge; and, thereupon, will give you a more particular account of my whole design. Considering that the history of our church before the Reformation was little known, and that great numbers of the civil antient histories were already published, and more designed; having also much leisure in this place, by the favour of his Grace the Archbishop; I resolved to make a collection of histories purely ecclesiastical, and publish them together; believing that otherwise they might be for ever lost, and that this

of the present very excellent librarian, the Rev. J. H. Todd, a collateral relation of Mr. Wharton's correspondent. A life is prefixed to two volumes of Mr. Wharton's Sermons; and a small monument in Westminster Abbey is thus inscribed:

"H. S. E.

HENRICUS WHARTON, A.M.

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter,

rector ecclesiæ de Chartham,

necnon vicarius ecclesiæ de Minster

in Insulâ Thanato, in diœcesi Cantuariensi:

Reverendissimo ac sanctissimo Præsuli

Wilhelmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi

à sacris domesticis.

Qui multa ad augendam & illustrandam

rem literariam,

multa pro ecclesiâ Christi conscripsit,

plura moliebatur.

Obiit 3 Non. Mart. A. D. MDCXCIV;

ætatis suæ xxxi."

might

might contribute much to an exact ecclesiastical history of our church, if ever it should be undertaken. When I had gained many of these histories, and caused them to be transcribed out of several libraries, I found that they were all particular of some one church, relating almost wholly to the affairs of that church of which the writer was a monk or canon. Hence I immediately conceived, that if such histories could be found of every episcopal see, a perfect history of our bishops would then arise. I thereupon resolved to dispose them in such order as might effect the design; leaving out miracles, fables, and such like; but retaining their words, and correcting their errors, and supplying their omissions by notes at the bottom of the page. Further, because few of them reached to the Reformation, I found it necessary to continue all of them to that period; and, because of some sees no histories could be found, to write a particular history of them: but, in both cases, would not undertake to give a large elaborate account of the lives and actions of the several bishops, but only such a short account as might make up the whole succession entire; but especially fix their times more certainly than hath hitherto been done. For my primary design was the edition of antient ecclesiastical histories. The contriving it in such a method as might form an history of the several sees was but a secondary design. To have wrote such an history as the world may expect, and you seem to desire, would have taken up many years; which I neither can nor would employ upon it. For, my Lord being shortly to be driven hence*, I must retire into the country;

* See p. 11.

and I would not bestow too long time upon so mean a subject. I first considered the design in October last, and before the next October hope to see it published. In this time I have turned over almost innumerable registers, histories, &c. and procured much from other persons; so that although the work will be far short of what might be hoped, yet, I persuade myself, that after what Godwin and Parker have done, and what will be done in this collection, very little will remain to be known concerning our bishops before the Reformation; for I go no farther. From that time no account can be obtained but by long and private information, to be collected by persons living in the particular sees: and yet it would be a history most conducing to the honour of our church, to have a large account of our Reformed bishops published to the world.

I have therefore thought, (if I should be permitted to live in a public place) to endeavour, hereafter, to find out some person in every diocese, who may write the acts of the bishops of that diocese since the Reformation; and, having obtained it, to publish all together in one volume. I would willingly undertake the sees of Canterbury and London; and may securely hope to receive that of Carlisle from your hand; if you do not rather think fit to proceed in your first design, and publish a separate history of that see *.

I am sorry my lord of St. Asaph † should raise such expectations of me, as I am not able to perform. I believe I can give a more exact succession of the bishops of Carlisle than hath been hitherto

* See p. 17.

* Dr. W. Lloyd, afterwards bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.
published;

published; but either a larger or a better I cannot promise. If you please to send up your Collections to me till the year 1540, I will endeavour to form a more particular history out of them than I shall, perhaps, bestow upon any other see of which I have no antient history; but wish rather that it may be done by your much better pen. In either case I shall gratefully own what I have received from you; and ever profess myself to be, sir,

Your most affectionate brother,

HEN. WHARTON.

5. MR. TODD TO MR. WHARTON.

WORTHY SIR,

[1689].

I THANK you for the account you are pleased to give me of your design, which I extremely approve of; and think the Work when done will much contribute to the honour of our Church; and I wish you may enjoy leisure and all the encouragements you can desire, to the perfecting of it. I send you some short accounts of the Bishops before 1400, which may be of use to you in fixing some consecrations, &c.; but I would not have you alter your first design, out of respect to a particular see. As to any assistance you have from me, it is so small that it deserves not to be mentioned; and what you offer is a respect I know not how to receive. I am only a lover of learning, and resolved to employ my life in disquisitions that may tend to the improvement
of

of it; and if Providence ever please to dispose of me to a part where are more conveniences for study, it will make me more happy, and increase my diligence and endeavour to serve you and others that have the happiness of greater advantages every way. I pray God preserve our Church in its Apostolical Episcopal Government, and that there may never want Bishops to add to the second volume. If you lived so near Scotland as I do, you would believe there might be some reason to doubt of the succession.

I heartily wish you all content and happiness, and remain, Sir,

Yours, &c.

H. TODD*.

* Hugh Todd, D.D. born at Blencow in Cumberland, became a poor scholar of Queen's college, Oxford, in 1672, afterwards a serving child, and (when B. A.) taberdar of that house. He was elected fellow of University college, Dec. 23, 1678; and proceeding M.A. July 2, 1679, became chaplain to Dr. Smith, bishop of Carlisle; one of the four Canon residentiaries of Carlisle in 1685; and the same year obtained the vicarage of Stanwix. He accumulated the degrees of B. and D.D. Dec. 12, 1692. His publications are, "The Description of Sweden, 1680," folio; "An Account of a Salt-spring and another Medicinal Spring on the banks of the River Weare, or Ware, in the Bishoprick of Durham, 1684," Phil. Trans. No 163; and "The Life of Phocion, 1684." "A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Union, 1707;" and one preached before the House of Commons, May 29, 1711. He left also in MS. "Notitia Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Carlionensis; una cum Catalogo Priorum, dum Conventualis erat, & Decanorum & Canonicorum quum Collegiata. Notitia Prioratûs de Wedderhall; cum Catalogo omnium Benefactorum qui ad ambas has sacras Ædes struendas, dotandas, & ornandas, pecuniam, terras, & ornamenta, vel aliqua alia beneficia, piè & munificè contulerunt." These two were written in 1688, and dedicated by the author to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. He left also in MS. "A History of the Diocese of Carlisle, containing an account of the Parishes, Abbeys, Nunneries, Churches, Monuments,

6. *Remarks by Archdeacon NICOLSON, on WHARTON'S "Anglia Sacra," in 2 vols. Lond. 1691.*

IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

He says, he himself has done doubly more in eighteen months than Bishop Godwin in twenty years, towards the Ecclesiastical History of this Church. Pref. p. 16.

He is over-particular in his respects to Archbishop Parker: *ab hoc unico Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ notitiam et monumenta accepimus.* Ib. p. 18. Archbishop Laud infinitely outdid him. See Somner's Life, pp. 104, 105, 106.

He threatens to shew (hereafter) that York was under the jurisdiction of Canterbury from the year 664 to 1119. Ib. p. 21.

Proud of his performance in the Dissertation *de duobus Elfricis: me sententiam planè novam inivisse fateor; tot tamen tantisque argumentis firmatam, ut non facilè aliis rejicienda fuerit.* Ib. p. 23.

Seems faintly to resolve on writing a history of the Bishops since the Reformation. Ib. p. 29.

What credit to be given to the Monkish Historians he shews by the account he gives of their very

Epitaphs, Coats of Arms, Founders, Benefactors, &c. with a perfect catalogue of the Bishops, Priors, Deans, Chancellors, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and of all rectors and vicars of the several parishes in the said Diocese, 1689." By Ballard's MS Letters in the Bodleian Library (II. 5.) it appears that Dr. Todd sent a Chartulary of Fountains Abbey to University College library; and (ib. 13.) that he was solicited by Dr. Hickes to assist in publishing some Saxon books; and in the same letter some other particulars of him may be found.

different

different behaviour towards King Edgar and his brother *Edwy*. P. 102.

He contemns almost all mankind that have written any history before him—*Mirum Historicis nostros tam rudes Abacedarios fuisse*. P. 114. And we ought not to quarrel with such a man for falling foul on either Bale or Godwin: for how should their mitres be revered by one that despises the whole creation?

His opinion about the two Ælfrics (which he values himself upon as his master-piece) is founded on a gross mistake: one of *A. Wheloc's* blunders in translating an expression in the Saxon Chronicle (ad An. 975) which carries no such sense as he puts upon it. 7 him ƿýppæƿt hæleð, *i. e.* (as Wheloc renders it) *Eumque Deus Opt. Max. conservet*; whereas the late worthy editor of that Chronicle hath translated it, *Isque Heros eximius*. The word hæleð is several times repeated in that year's account as it is now published: and Mr. Somner's Dictionary might have informed Mr. Wharton that ƿýppæƿt had quite another signification than Wheloc had put upon it*.

* It seems as if somebody had made Mr. Wharton sensible of this error: and therefore (in his Addenda, p. 796,) he observes, that the *Codex Optimus Cottonianus* ends the Chronicle at this year. It is strange it should, since Mr. Wheloc's notes out of it (published by Mr. Gibson) are continued to the end of the year 1001; and Mr. Junius's out of the other [Domitian, A. 8.] end in Anno 1057. It is also (by the way) an odd account that H. Wharton gives of this latter MS. In one place (p. 796, in Addend. ad p. 135), he says, it is so decayed in the years following 1000 that he could not read it. In another (p. 332), he quotes it in anno 1058, which is a year farther then Junius could read it.

W. N.

History of Reformation quoted by him in his continuation of the bishops of Worcester, p. 539, and of Bath and Wells, p. 577.

William archbishop of Canterbury (who had his pall A. D. 1123) was the first that accepted a legantine power from the Pope, and acknowledged his jurisdiction, p. 792.

IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

He concludes his preface with an account of his having in readiness a considerable collection for a third and fourth volume. But these are never like to be published till some good preferment has sweetened his humour; for no such thing at present is to be expected; *cum adversa clementissimi Patroni* fortuna mihi hujusmodi studiorum subsidia, omnium verò præmia, infœlici excusserit.* Præf. ad finem.

These melancholy reflections have rendered this second part much more heavy and dull than the first. The publisher does not once oblige us with a Dissertation of his own: but (instead of that) is forced to patch up the vacant spaces with piteous old scraps—*Visum est Levidensia quædam interponere*, p. 148. Besides, his notes are thin and lean, and do indeed look as if their author were starving.

Upon the whole, his industry is great, and deserves encouragement; but his pertness and immodesty is as great, and ought to be otherwise treated.

W. N.

* Archbishop Sancroft.

7. TO MR. THORESBY *.

SIR,

FEB. 8, 1691-2.

I THINK myself very happy in your correspondence, and you cannot oblige me more then by con-

* The personal history of this eminent Antiquary is so well known, that it is only necessary to state, that he was the son of a merchant at Leeds ; where he was born in 1658, and where he died in 1725. He was well respected by the clergy and gentry in his neighbourhood ; and was a very considerable contributor to the labours of contemporary writers. When Mr. Gibson published his new edition of Camden, Mr. Thoresby wrote notes and additional observations on the West-riding of Yorkshire, for the use of it ; and transmitted above a hundred of his coins to Mr. Obadiah Walker, who undertook that province which related to the Roman, British, and Saxon moneys. Hearne often acknowledged in print the favour of his correspondence. He communicated to Strype some original letters in his collection. He imparted to Calamy memoirs of several Northern Divines for his abridgment of " Baxter's Life and Times ;" as he did also of the worthy Royalists to Walker, for his " Sufferings of the Clergy," which was published as an antidote to Calamy's book, esteeming good men of all parties worthy to have their names and characters transmitted to posterity. His skill in heraldry and genealogy rendered him a very serviceable correspondent to Collins in his " Peerage of England." By these kindnesses, sweetened with the easiness of access to his own cabinet, he always found the like easy admission to those of others ; which gave him frequent opportunities of enlarging his collection, far beyond what could have been expected from a private person, not wealthy. He commenced an early friendship with the celebrated naturalist Dr. Martin Lister. To this friend he sent an account of some Roman antiquities he had discovered in Yorkshire ; which, being communicated by him and Dr. Gale, dean of York, to the Royal Society, obtained him a fellowship of that learned body in 1697 : and the great number of his papers, in their Transactions, relating to ancient Roman and Saxon monuments in the North of England, with notes upon them, and the inscriptions of coins, &c. shew how deserving he was of that honour. His character for learning

tinuing kindly to impart whatever comes to hand which you think worth your own taking notice of. I cannot add much to your (very probable) conjectures upon the coin you sent me. I do believe it is

ing is best seen in the books he published, which shew him to have been a great master of the history and antiquities of his own country; to attain which, it became necessary for him to be skilled, as he was, in genealogy and heraldry. He appears, from these books, to have been also an industrious biographer: but that which sets his reputation the highest as a scholar, was his uncommon knowledge of coins and medals. He had long formed a design of doing honour to his native town and its environs, by writing the history of them; and had accumulated a vast quantity of materials for the work, which was published in 1714, under the title of "*Ducatus Leodiensis; or, the Topography of Leeds and the Parts adjacent.*" To which is subjoined "*Museum Thoresbeianum; or, a Catalogue of the Antiquities, &c. in the Repository of Ralph Thoresby, Gent. &c.*" In the former piece, he frequently refers to the historical part, intended for giving a view of the state of the Northern parts of the kingdom during the dark ages of the Britons and the Romans; and of the alterations afterwards made by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans: and he proceeded so far, as to bring his narration in a fair copy nearly to the end of the sixth century, illustrating and confirming his history by his coins. This curious unfinished manuscript is inserted in the *Biographia Britannica*, in order to excite some able writer to carry it on, and complete the noble design of the author. His advancement in years hindering him from completing this work, he contented himself with committing to the press his "*Vicaria Leodiensis: or, The History of the Church of Leeds, &c.*" which was published in 1724, 8vo. The subject of this work being narrow and confined, he has enriched it with observations on the original of parochial churches, and the antient manner of building them; as also on the old way of passing estates by delivery of pledges, subscription of golden crosses, pendent seals, &c.: and, besides the memoirs of many worthy divines successively vicars of Leeds, he has added the lives of the doctors Matthew Hutton, Edwyn Sandys, Tobie Matthews, John Thoresby, archbishops of York, and of Henry earl of Huntingdon.

one of St. Canutus's. That King (as Saxo-Grammaticus tells us) looked upon his pretensions to the Crown of England to be as just as the greatest of his predecessors could ever challenge; and was resolved to have attempted the gaining it into his possession. This account we have in his Hist. Dan. lib. xii. p. 217. And possibly this coin may a little illustrate the story. For on the same side with CI. CAN you have (as I take it) ANG. ; and, perhaps, A and D on the reverse were designed to denote the two kingdoms of England and Denmark. The piece is manifestly Christian: which appears, not only from (what you rightly observe) the draught of a church on one side, but also from that of a cross on the other. In the middle of this latter, I would willingly fancy this inscription is to be seen, IHC. INRI. The first three letters are the old cypher for JESUS; the Greek Σ being antiently as often expressed by C as S. The other four are the initials of Pilate's superscription, "*Jesus Nazarenius Rex Judæorum*," common enough on the crosses of St. Canutus's time. And why might not that King choose to have such an inscription upon his money at such a juncture; and look upon the omen as good, and encouraging to his soldiers, as if it were (as perhaps it was) to be read in his banners? This is all the guess I can make upon the matter: but (whether the conjecture be probable or not) I hope it will convince you of my great readiness to serve you, to the utmost of my power.

The copper-stone is very curious: and beyond any thing I have seen in its kind. It is not unusual for metals (as well as their fibres or spars) to strike into various and exact mathematical figures. I
have

have given Mr. Wilkinson the trouble of bringing you two pieces, wherein Nature seems to have attempted what she has brought to perfection in yours. The one is a specimen of lead ore, and the other of sulphur, both picked up at the outbursts (as they call them) of their several veins. To these I have added two or three little things more, which are pretty common in some parts of Oxfordshire and elsewhere; and therefore, it may be, no strangers to you. I have a small collection of such curiosities as relate to the natural history of our own country; which is as far as my leisure will allow me to travel in that study. If I knew what might be grateful to you in this kind, which these parts afford, my endeavours should not be wanting to serve you: and I should hope for an opportunity of being the carrier of them myself this next Summer.

I have some hopes that I shall be able to have my "Essay on the Kingdom of Northumberland" brought into something like a complete work within a few months. Mr. Ray (in the preface to his late Collection of English Words) has promised, for me, that it shall shortly be published; and I think myself obliged to do all I can to make good the engagement. He has, in the conclusion of that piece, printed a *Glossarium Northanhymbricum*, which he had from me; and which shall be much larger, if God grant me life and abilities to go through with what I have undertaken. But, to give it its last finishing stroke, it will be necessary that I visit a great many of the remains of our Saxon ancestors in several parts of this province; and (you may be assured) I shall desire to begin at Leeds. I wish
you,

you, sir, would undertake the putting together the like collection of Roman and British antiquities through your province. You shall have the utmost and heartiest assistance that can be given you by, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

8. TO MR. EDWARD LHWYD*.

SIR,

MARCH 31, 1692.

YOURS by the last post was so welcome, that I cannot omit the first opportunity of returning my thanks for it. Our county is mostly (as you rightly

* Of Jesus College, Oxford; and successor to Dr. Plott as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. With incessant labour and great exactness he employed a considerable part of his life in searching into the Welsh Antiquities; and had perused or collected a great deal of antient and valuable matter from their MSS; transcribed all the old charters of their monasteries that he could meet with; travelled several times over Wales, Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, Armoric Bretagne, countries inhabited by the same people; compared their antiquities, and made observations on the whole; but died in 1709, before he had digested them into the form of a discourse on the antient inhabitants of this island. For want of proper encouragement, he did very little towards understanding the British bards, having seen but one of those of the sixth century, and not being able to procure access to two of the principal libraries in the country. He communicated many observations to Mr. Gibson, whose edition of the Britannia he revised; and published "Archæologia Britannica, giving some account additional to what has been hitherto published of the languages, histories, and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain, from collections and observations in

guess) of the same nature with North Wales. Only, I think, we have greater share of metals; in travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas Bretagne, Ireland, and Scotland. Vol. I. Glossography. Oxford, 1707." fol. He left in MS. a Scottish or Irish-English dictionary, proposed to be published in 1732 by subscription, by Mr. David Malcolme, a minister of the church of Scotland, with additions; as also the elements of the said language, with necessary and useful informations for propagating more effectually the English language, and for promoting the knowledge of the antient Scottish or Irish, and very many branches of useful and curious learning. Lhwyd, at the end of his preface to his *Archæologia*, promises an historical dictionary of British persons and places mentioned in antient records. It seems to have been ready for press, though he could not set the time of publication. His collections for a second volume, which was to give an account of the antiquities, monuments, &c. in the Principality of Wales, were numerous and well chosen; but, on account of a quarrel between him and Dr. Wynne, then Fellow, afterwards Principal of the College, and bishop of St. Asaph, he refused to buy them; and they were purchased by Sir Thomas Sebright, of Beechwood in Hertfordshire, in whose library the greatest part still remain, but so indigested, and written with so many abbreviations, that nobody can undertake to publish them. They consist of about 40 volumes in folio, 10 in 4to. and above 100 smaller, all relative to Irish and Welsh antiquities, and chiefly in those languages. Mr. T. Carte made extracts from them about or before 1736; but those were chiefly historical. His account of some Roman, French, and Irish inscriptions, and antiquities found in Scotland and Ireland, many of them inserted in Camden, are printed in *Phil. Trans.* No 269; and further observations on his Travels through Wales and Scotland, in No 337. By a letter of his to Ray, it appears that he took a catalogue of the books, medals, and pictures, in the Ashmolean Museum; a collection, which, it is to be lamented, was for several years kept in the most negligent manner. The Librarian, being one of the heads, put in a scholar for 5 *l.* who made a perquisite of shewing the curiosities, which lay in the utmost confusion. Lhwyd's fossils were tumbled out of their papers; and nobody regarded or understood them till his catalogue of them was republished by Mr. Huddesford, the late librarian. See Gough's *British Topography*, vol. II. pp. 134, 479. 486.
and

and therefore, it may be, fewer formed stones are to be met with in our mountains. You know it is a late Italian author's opinion, that the metalline steams are enemies to such concretions: though I have one argument (to myself unanswerable) against that opinion; from several red entrochi found in a bed of rudde and an iron mine; a specimen of which, with what else I fancy may be worth your while, I shall send you by the next return of the carrier. Our countrymen give only the name of St. Cuthbert's beads to the flowered *Asteriæ*, such as Dr. Plott says are found at Cleydon in Oxfordshire; the *Entrochi* they call Fairy-stones. These last are plentifully found in our lime-stone quarries, and in beds of clay near the coal-grounds, in several parts of our low-lands, but rarely among the mountains.

Since I engaged myself in collecting the antiquities of old Northumberland, I had occasion (and shall have some more) to view several parts of it; and I had no small diversion in picking up natural rarities by the bye. I am now more than ever resolved to do all I am able towards the finishing of that work, since you are pleased so kindly to offer me your assistance. I have had a deal of encouragement in it from my very good friend Mr. Gibson *, of our College. He sent me, the other day, a catalogue of the MSS. in the Museum †, of his own publishing. He mentions one thing in f. 1. "Disceptatio per duellum," &c. which I should be glad to see a copy of; as relating (I fancy) to two great families in my neighbourhood, though nothing to

* Dr. Edmund Gibson, the learned Saxonist, translator of Camden; afterwards successively bishop of Lincoln and London.

† The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

my undertaking. No. 35, he mentions, "Catalog. Registr. omnium, &c. et in quorum manibus." If any of them come within this province (relating to monasteries founded before the Conquest) I should be glad to hear of them, and where I may further enquire after them. One thing my friend has not noted, which Mr. Wood (in his *Athenæ Oxon.*) tells me is to be had amongst Sir W. Dugdale's books, under the letter Z; "H. Ferrers's Collection of Antiquities." If any notable remark may be picked out of the collection that touches my time and place, I shall be very thankful for it. A great many of our towns (as *Caerlile, Penrith, Penruddoc, Caerdornoc*, &c.), with most of the names of our rivers and mountains, are British. I shall send you a large vocabulary of them, since you allow me the confidence to hope that you will readily explain them for me.

You see, sir, what a load of trouble you are like to bring upon yourself by admitting me to a correspondence with you. I am afraid I shall make you repent of the favour you have shewn me. The best testimony you can give me of your easiness under this burthen will be the proposing your own queries to me with the same freedom. If these parts afford any thing that can be acceptable to you, I will heartily serve you to the utmost of my power: as being, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

9. TO MR. LHWYD.

SIR,

MAY 26, 1692.

THE busiest time of the year with men of my calling (from Easter till after Trinity Sunday) being but just over, I hope you will pardon this slow return of my thanks for your last letter. The book I mentioned, about Metalline Steams, &c. is "*Ph. Bonanni Recreatio Mentis & Oculi in Observatione Animalium, Testaceorum, &c. Romæ, 1684, 4to.*" I believe Samuel Smith* (Mr. Ray's bookseller) can furnish you with it. However, a short account of it you will meet with in the Leipsick Transactions for the year 1686, p. 108. Dr. Robinson (in the place you quote) mentions the figures of most animals delineated on stone; all which may be purely accidental: as, I think, are two which I have by me; one whereof has the head and foreparts of an Hare, or Coney, as fairly drawn as a tolerable limner would be able to paint them; and the other (a transparent agate) gives a curious picture, in the body of the stone, of a heath-bush in blossom. But there seems to be some more than ordinary secret in Nature, beyond the blind hits of chance, in the draughts of fern and other plants upon coal-slate; which, Mr. Ray says, he had from you. This brings into my head a story (which, I think, I have mentioned somewhere in the English

* Bookseller to the Royal Society. He was a good scholar; conversed fluently in Latin and French; had a very handsome shop; and dealt largely in foreign books. He had a partner, Mr. Benjamin Walford, who was also an ingenious man, and understood books well.

Atlas) of curious stones found on the banks of some Lake in Germany, which carry the lively pourtrai- tures of all the fishes in the water. What shall we say to these things? Will not Dr. Plott's con- jecture, for beautifying the creation with such curiosi- ties, outdo Mr. Hook's fancy of petrifications, and animal molds? For my own part, I am very inclin- able to be of the Doctor's opinion: though perhaps, sir, you will shortly tell me that I think more like a Divine than a Philosopher. But of these matters I am like to give you some more of my thoughts by the carrier; who (about a month hence) will bring you what I can pick up for your service.

The Wolf-fish is taken plentifully on the Eastern coasts in Yorkshire, and the counties of Durham and Northumberland; though very rarely in our Western seas. Yet our fishermen know it; and call it Cat-fish, as Dr. R. Sibbald tells us his coun- trymen also do. I will endeavour to procure you some of its teeth and other bones, to be sent up with the other things I am preparing for you.

I shall trouble you with a catalogue or two of names which I take to be of British extraction; and shall observe the directions in setting down my weak conjectures, where I am able to guess any thing even to my own satisfaction. My cousin Archer sent me some samples of formed stones, which, he tells me, he had from you. I hope you will add to my stock at the carrier's return.

In sir W. Dugdale's Catalogue of the registers of old monasteries in this province there is (no doubt) an account of those in the counties of Cheshire and Nottinghamshire; which I desire you will add to those

those of Yorkshire, which you design to favour me with. Among those you give me of Lancashire there is a word [*accditore*] which, you say, you understand not. It is (you will find, on second perusal) *auditore*. The Auditor's Office is continued by the same name to this day.

When you see Mr. Gibson pray tell him Burnyeat shall bring the return of my thanks for his last kind remembrance of me. I imagine him so intent upon the finishing of his Chronicle, that I am loth to give him any disturbance till that is over. One query he may (however) make for me, to which Dr. Mill * will easily procure an answer. Whether the MS Chronicle of the Augustine Monks, in Bibl. Aul. Trin. Cant. quoted by my lord of Worcester †, in his Orig. Brit. p. 26, 30, &c. be the same with Tho. Sprott's Chronicle cited by W. Thorn; which Sir R. Twisden says, (Præf. ad X Scriptores) he sought for in vain; and which Mr. Fuller (I think) has quoted (Church History, p. 103, cent. 8, b. 2.) by the name of Tho. Spott's History.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

W. N.

10. FROM MR. HUTTON †.

REVEREND SIR,

AUG. 31, [1692.]

THE grief which my wife lies under for the loss of our children hath so disordered her that I cannot

* The accurate editor of the Greek Testament.

† Dr. Stillingfleet.

‡ "Mem. I was at Durham when this came; but answered it (on my return) Sept. 4, 92." W. N.

wait

wait upon you to-day ; she is now under the recollection of all her offences ; and there is one which has so seized upon her that she cannot be reconciled to herself, which is, whilst she was a child-bearing she so much dreaded the torments of it that she wished that she might have none ; which offence she thinks so great, that it will need throw her into despair, and thinks that all the afflictions that hath befallen us was occasioned by that offence.

Dear sir, I beg a line from you, that may settle her desponding heart, which is a wonderful perplexity to her. I hope it was but a sin of infirmity, since God was pleased to send her them for all that. There is enough in the merit of our dear Redeemer to cleanse us from greater sins than this ; or what shall become of me ? She has done all that God requires for the remission of sins ; but only that she cannot get that sin removed. Pardon this boldness ; since she and I desire that satisfaction from you, if you please. As soon as your convenience will permit you to come over, it will infinitely oblige

Your faithful servant,

ANTH. HUTTON.

II. TO MRS. HUTTON.

MADAM,

[SEPT. 1692.]

I AM heartily troubled to hear of the great anguish you are still under, upon the late afflictions God has been pleased to visit you with. I always took you for a person of that excellent Christian temper

temper as to be ready (on all occasions) to "receive evil at the hand of God, as well as good;" Job ii. 10. The question, as it is there put, is unanswerable to any that has due notions of Religion. And I hope (upon your frequent and serious perusal of that text, with many more which that book will afford you) you will need no other instructor, to teach you to look upon life as a mixture of fair weather and foul, blessings and afflictions; and that all these varieties are so agreeable to the ordinary methods of God's providence, that they ought to be submitted to with a constancy of spirit, and a blessing of his name that sends them.

Thus far ought a good Christian (such as I have hitherto believed you to be) to resist all temptations of repining at any cross accident in this life; considering that the most miserable among us are blessed above our deserts, and punished beneath them.

But, it seems, you take this opportunity to reflect upon your past life, and (among other sins) you remember you once wished you might have no children. This you think so detestable a sin as to provoke God's displeasure to much higher degrees than you have hitherto felt it; and that it is an offence of so crying a nature, that it is hardly (if at all) to be pardoned.

Good Madam! let not such a thought as this come nigh your heart. If you do believe that the wish was displeasing to God; and that the late removal of some of the children he had given you was the effect of such displeasure: yet (for God's sake and your own) think, withal, that "whom the Lord loves he corrects," and that these stripes were sent on purpose to heal. It will be a much more unpar-

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donable

donable offence to distrust his mercy, and to despair of the return of his goodness. Let me, therefore, beg of you to consider,

1st, Though every transgression of God's law be damnable; yet, so infinite is his mercy, the lewdest sins have been pardoned: not only David's adultery, and Manasseh's idolatry, but even Peter's denial of his Master. It was for sinners that our blessed Lord shed his blood; and we are taught (in the Communion service of our Church) to believe that he "made, by this one oblation of himself, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." So that no sin can bring so much guilt along with it, but what is removable by a steady faith in our Saviour's merits. And yet (for your further support) it ought to be considered,

2dly, That the thing which troubles you is of such a nature, as that it should be rather esteemed a natural infirmity than a sin. When you wished you might have no children, you had (I doubt not) an eye chiefly to the sorrows they were like to bring upon you in their birth: and the terrors of these pains of travail you desired to be freed from. Alas! (Madam) such a wish as this is so little of the complexion of a crimson sin, that even our blessed Saviour himself (who never was guilty of any actual transgression) was subject to something of this kind. He prayed "that the hour might pass from him; and that the bitter cup prepared for his drinking might be taken away." If you compare this case and your own with calmness and attention, I am persuaded, your trouble will abate. It is the business of the great Tempter of mankind, to take the advantage of such circumstances as you are now under, to repre-
sent

sent the horror of every fault to the utmost extremity. This, Madam, you ought to consider; and (for that reason) to bear up cheerfully against all manner of afflictions. Reflect rather on the many comforts you still enjoy, than on the few that are taken from you: and then, I am sure, you will find cause enough to turn your weeping into joy. In the mean time, that God may support you under all your afflictions, and make a way for you to escape the temptations they commonly bring along with them, shall be the daily prayer of, Madam,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

12. TO MR. LHWYD.

SIR,

JUNE 22, 1693.

NONE, or few of the formed stones, are to be met with on the tops of the mountains; which are generally made up of blue shiver, such as is not, it seems, apt to strike into those figures. In many parts of the country we have a hard grey limestone or marble, which is full of Conchites; and near Levinz in Westmorland, I met with a stone which ran almost across the river Kent, made of several millions of Trochites, pretty regularly cemented into one mass. I send you a piece of it; which, perhaps, will incline you to think (as it did me) that the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, whereof Dr. Lister's friend (in the Phil. Trans. of April last) has

given us an account, is of the like compositions, and nothing else but a long continued bed of these rock-plants. And now we talk of plants, it will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to tell you, that I took the pains to climb a deal of our hills in quest of alpine plants. I found vast quantities of several mentioned by Mr. Ray from Mr. Lawson as great rarities, and confined to some particular places: for example, the *Acetosa rotundifolia*, *Rhodia Radix*, and *Alchymilla Alpina*, I met with on all the rocks near the tops of the ragged mountains, for twenty miles together: and, I believe, few of the like kind want them. The *Orobis sylvaticus nostras* grows abundantly in the town-fields of five or six parishes along the side of Cross-Fell, in both the counties; and no where else in either of them, as far as I could yet observe. The soil there is sandy, and a red freestone runs through the whole tract. The plant which Mr. Lawson calls *Geranium Hæmatodes Lancastriense* grows the most plentifully of any I saw, on the banks of all our lakes, and in the shady lanes near them. I suspect it to be all one with *Ger. Batrach. Mont. nostras*. It answers, I think, one of the descriptions when young, and the other as soon as it is ripe. *Persicaria siliquosa* is (as far as I have yet learnt) peculiar to the neighbourhood of Winandermeer. *Taxus* and *Juniperus Alp. minor* are common. I was very inquisitive after *Rosella longifolia perennis*, which, Mr. Ray says, somebody found in the mosses near Carlisle: but I could never see any thing that I could call by that name. I have many more crotchets of this nature, that I shall keep a while to ripen and digest. It may be, my cousin Archer
may

may carry me once more through the hill countries; and he shall bring you what we can jointly observe. I had little opportunity of searching the sea-coasts; and, when I was there, the weather did not prove favourable: so that I made no such collection of shells, bones of fishes, &c. as I hoped for. What I did gather is sent you; and I will endeavour to enlarge your store by the next return.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

13. TO MR. GIBSON.

SIR,

SEPT. 9.

I AM very much indebted to you for your excusing my late neglect; and I hope now to make some atonement. Mr. Wilkinson brings back all your curiosities, save only the seal of St. John of Beverley, for which I thank you. I cannot read that of *Kirkstall*; the only thing (to me) discernible in it being the pourtraiture of the Virgin Mary with our Saviour in her arms. The small glass seal (which you believe to be Saxon) is thus inscribed, *ihx*, which I take to be the old cypher for *Jesus Christus*. The rest are all Roman, and pretty common. The brass seal you have, doubtless, read very right; and you would oblige me if you send me your thoughts on that of St. John of Beverley, which I am, I confess, puzzled with. I have given you my thoughts of your coins; which (especially on that with the Runic characters) I hope will be grateful. I have
also

also made some few remarks on your own excellent collections: and have sent you rude draughts of some Roman and Runic monuments, which will be new to you. I have ventured to write my reading of the several inscriptions, in your father's book on the opposite (or the same) page with every monument. Only that in your own custody I cannot yet thoroughly explain: but, as soon as I am able, will give you some account of it. If any thing herewith sent you be acceptable to you, I hope it will prevail with you to furnish me with a catalogue and the inscriptions of your other Saxon coins; than which nothing can be more grateful to, sir,

Your most obliged and faithful servant,

W. N.

Mr. Wilkinson and I have not rightly understood one another, in the discourse we had about Leeds. I told him I could shew it was once the residence of some of our Saxon monarchs. All this you know, and more than I can tell you.

14. TO MR. GIBSON.

DEAR SIR,

JAN. 18, 1693.

THE very post before yours came to my hand I had a letter from Dr. Todd, acquainting me that (by Mr. Harrington's death) a full stop was put to the designed edition of Camden; and the bookseller's measures so much broken, that the whole affair was like to sleep for some time. Hereupon I wholly threw
aside

aside the few materials I had provided for Northumberland. I was a little cool, indeed, in the thing before I received this advice. I was encouraged to hope for some assistance from Sir Robert Shafto; who is said to have made considerable collections in relation to the antiquities of that county. But, upon my application to him, I was answered, that his papers were already in the hands of some persons concerned in this new work. I had also some expectations of a little help from Mr. Adams's papers: but those too, I found, were sent for out of the custody of our chancellor (in whose hands I knew they were) with particular directions to let the carrier have those of them that belonged to the county of Northumberland. These, it seems, are now in the possession of Dr. Todd: who tells me he will return them to me. In the mean time (since you are entrusted with the inspection of the work) I will be going on, whatever discouragements I meet with; and will very readily trust you with all my infirmities, though other men are shy of trusting me with theirs. I do not understand the humour of making discoveries of this kind, purely for a man's own private information. And yet I see that is the sordid pleasure of a great many of us sullen antiquaries. You may assure yourself the undertakers could never have committed the work to any man that could more effectually command the little that I am able to contribute towards it, than you shall. But, what is it that I am able to do for you? What slips there may be in Camden's British Etymologies (though there, perhaps, is his greatest excellency) my friend Mr. Lhwyd will be your best adviser. In all other parts of the book I know no one person in the kingdom

dom better qualified to assist you than Dr. Gale *: who, no doubt, will not grudge you his friendship. You will find many mistakes in the account of mo-

* This profoundly learned Divine and Antiquary was born at Scruton in Yorkshire, 1636; educated at Westminster School; fellow of Trinity College Cambridge; B. A. 1656; M. A. 1662; Regius Professor of Greek 1666; master of St. Paul's school 1672; B. and D. D. 1675; a prebendary of St. Paul's 1676; F.R.S. and secretary there; and in 1697 dean of York, where he died April 8, 1702, in his 67th year, and is thus recorded in the choir of the Cathedral:

“Æ. M. S.

THOMÆ GALE, S. T. P. Decani Ebor.

Viri, si quis alius,
ob multifariam eruditionem,
apud suos exterosque celeberrimi.

Quale nomen sibi conquisivit,
apud Cantabrigienses

Collegium S. S. Trinitatis, et
Græcæ Linguae Professoris Regii Cathedra;
apud Londinates,

Viri literatissimi in Rempublicam
et Patriæ commodum
ex Gymnasio Paulino emissi;

apud Eboracenses,
hujus res Ecclesiæ
heu! vix quinquennio,
at dum per mortem licuit,
sedulò et fideliter administrata;

et ubicunque agebat donata luce
veneranda Linguae Græcæ
et Historiæ Anglicanæ
Monumenta, Marmore loquaciora,
Perenniora,
Testantur.

Obiit Ap. viii. A.S.H. MDCCII. ætat. suæ LXVII.”

A more ample account of Dean Gale, and of his two learned sons, Roger and Samuel Gale, may be seen in the “Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica,” No II.; or in the “Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer.”

nasteries,

nasteries, and other religious houses: and not a few (where it might be expected he would have been most exact) in the pedigrees of several great families: I need not direct you how to rectify all these. I will send you what remarks my papers will enable me to make, throughout the whole province of York, as speedily as I can fit them up for you. And I know you will excuse me if I now and then differ in them from your own sentiments, already published. For instance, Mr. Camden, speaking of William Rufus's rebuilding of our City of Carlisle, says, *Coloniā primū ex Belgis, postea ex Australibus Anglis, eō deduxit*. In your Saxon Chronicle (ad ann. 1092) the conclusion of that story is thus expressed: 7 mýcele mænige Eýplýrceƿ folceƿ, &c. For Eýplýrceƿ you read Englýrceƿ. and translate the words *magnam multitudinem Anglorum*, &c. In my transcript I have cýplýrceƿ, and have rendered it *Agricultorum*: which, I fancy, is the true reading. Especially since the context tells us the errand of these people was ƿ land to tiliāne. *Sed hæc obiter*. At your leisure hours I shall be thankful for your remembrance of me, with the history of your proceedings, and what other matters the men of learning are sending abroad that look our way. What is become of Hegg's Legend of St. Cuthbert, which we were encouraged to hope Mr. Tanner would have given us, from a better copy than that already published? How go the Saxon Councils forward? How does our good friend Dr. Hickes * employ himself at present? These, and forty more questions, I should have sent you by Burnyeat the

* Dr. George Hickes, the learned Saxonist, and author of the "Thesaurus Septentrionalis," &c.

next month. But I will spare you till you are a little more at ease. As soon as I have your books they shall be disposed of as you direct. I think I never yet acquainted you with the blunder the carrier committed in delivering Quintilian to my Lord Bishop with his own hand, instead of bringing it to me. It was, for several reasons, rascally done and I intended to desire your resentment of it to him, when he came next to the College. If your residing in London be of any long continuance, I may, possibly, request the trouble of your examining something of mine; as soon as, the throng of this business being well over, you have respite and leisure for it: I shall acquaint my neighbour Machel, &c. W.N.

15. FROM W. P.

DEAR COUSIN,

FEB. 23, 1694-5.

I HAVE here sent you a copy of the new Injunctions, which were sent my Lord to peruse before they were presented to the King and Council; and in a short time, I suppose before the visitation, you will receive them with authority. I hear George Tully is in a fair way of recovery; but I fear I shall scarce be able to see you in Cumberland till after Easter, the assizes beginning here within a fortnight, and continuing till the Passion-week, all which time my attendance will be expected here.

I am, in great haste, but most sincerely,

Dear Cousin,

Yours,

W. P.

16. DR. TODD TO ARCHBISHOP SHARP*.

MY LORD, NUNNINGTON, JULY 14, 1696.

I HAVE that great honour for your Lordship, and that just opinion of your Grace's right disposal of all the minutes of your retirement, that I should not presume to give your Grace any trouble or interruption in any respect, did not a concern for my own reputation, and that good opinion which I hope I have with your Grace, oblige me to give you this trouble. In a book lately dedicated to your Lordship †, there are some things mentioned, which evidently relate to me; and which I am concerned to put into a true light, lest the authority of the dedication should give them more credit than they ought to have. In the preface, your author reflects upon the condition of a certain Library; which, if rightly apprehended, might have saved him the trouble of an unkind temporary note; which, as soon as the Catalogue he mentions is published, will signify nothing but what he would not have it. The truth of the matter is this: since I was Prebendary of the Church, I have endeavoured all I could to have a Library fixed there. At my request, the Vice-dean, as he is pleased to say, has given a very considerable number of books; and my Lord Bishop has been so kind as to promise his whole study: and, since I have been here, his Lordship has sent me word, by Mr. Dean, that if I had been in the country this Spring, a new Library should have been built, and his books, with the rest, placed in it. Those that

* Of whom see p. 47.

† By Archdeacon Nicolson; see Letters 17, and 18.

my

my Lord has not, and the Vice-dean gave not, of my small study, I have actually placed in the Library, and shall fix there: and my Lord Preston having promised some books out of his study, my Lady has desired me to pick out such as may be most serviceable to us; and to have them sent the first opportunity. When I was Chaplain to my Lord Bishop of Carlisle, I had the perusal of all the Registers, &c. relating to the Cathedral and Diocese; and out of them I made such collections, relating to the Church and Diocese, as the matter and materials would afford. I had several letters from Mr. Wharton and my Lord of Lichfield *, about the subject I was upon: but, it being too narrow to print any thing upon it, and not knowing how long I might be concerned in the Diocese, I thought it most proper to bestow my small endeavours in the new Library; where I might have the use and improvement of them as long as I was a member of the Church, and where they might be left safe to those who might come after. And, that others, whose studies may enable them to improve such collections, might know where they were, and be encouraged to add to them, I thought it not improper to have an account of them inserted into the Oxford Catalogue, as in the Library at Carlisle. It is true, that at that time only one volume (in Latin) of the state of the Cathedral was actually in the Library; but the rest were ready for it in my hand, bound, and ready to be in their places (as I ever intended) before the Catalogue be published. And at my going down I hope, by God's leave, not only to have my small collections in four or five small volumes placed

* Dr. William Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

there,

there, but the whole Library so ordered, as that it may be some honour to the Church, and benefit to the Country: and what my poor fortune and endeavours may contribute to the public good of my Country shall never be wanting.

This being the truth of the case, I cannot but think I am somewhat hardly used by the Archdeacon; who not only lessens the performance, which he has never seen, and which I am content every one should judge of as they think fit; but offers the matter in his preface as a most remarkable concern, and endeavours to express it after a particular way. Indeed, offering it to your Grace looks like lodging an accusation; and, therefore, I think myself obliged to justify my endeavours for the publick, to your Lordship; and give a small vindication in writing, when your Grace has had a very false representation in print. My Lord, I do not offer this as if I had the least difference with, or prejudice to, Mr. Nicolson: I have lived long with him, and in good agreement, and hope always to do so; and if there be any grain of prejudice or ill-will on his side, I pray God forgive it: I am sure I do. Nor shall I desist, upon this ruffle, to pursue the interest of the Church and Diocese as much as I can; well knowing that whoever endeavours the good and benefit of the publick, must venture the envy and obloquy of some people. Hoping this will give your Grace some satisfaction in this matter, and acquit me of an unjust imputation; and that, if ever the book come to another edition, a correction in this point may be an obligation to your Author, as he promises all corrections shall be; and begging your Grace's blessing
upon

upon my studies and endeavours, I remain, with all possible deference and respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged
and most dutiful servant,
HUGH TODD.

17. FROM DR. TODD.

DEAR BROTHER, **CARLISLE, AUG. 3, 1696.**

I HAVE seen your book, and am much troubled to find in the preface a reflection on Dr. Bernhard; which I believe you would not have made, if you had considered the matter right. When I sent the sheet you aim at to the Bishop, where you might see it, I told you, as I remember, what my design was; *viz.* to reposit the papers I had, and what I had done for the Church and Diocese, that others might know where they were, and either use them or add to them, as they thought fit. What their *acmplection* was, as you word it, I could not well tell; only this I may say, that the collection is both more, and more useful, than any has been made by any that I know of, since the Cathedral was founded; and such as may be a good ground for others to go upon.

When I put some of my own books in the Library, I put in amongst them some of these papers: there was, or should have been, one thick one in folio before; and the rest are all there now, as you or any may see if they please. Till the Oxford Catalogue was published, I thought it not very necessary

sary they should be all there, having some of them to lend, and something to add to some of them; and being in my custody they were safe and ready; and whatever happened, I had obliged myself to reposit them where they now are, presently, and not thirty years hence, as you are pleased to suggest.

Indeed, Brother, I have reason to take this representation you have given, very ill: both because it is hasty and unjust; bears ill abroad on both sides; and throws an aspersion on a book that, if it had been published, would have been the most serviceable of any to your purpose; and because it comes at a time when I thought you had borne me goodwill, and might easily have known my intentions when you wrote, as you did to Oxford to me, when your book, I suppose, was a preparing. Hoping that this account will give you satisfaction, and that you will take care to do me right in a matter which gives great scandal, and wherein my reputation is concerned, I remain,

Your affectionate brother,

HUGH TODD.

18. TO ARCHBISHOP SHARP*.

MY LORD,

AUG. 3, 1696.

ON Friday last I waited on our Bishop at Rose; where I met with Dr. Todd, complaining of his being very ill treated, in the preface to my little

* Dr. John Sharp, a native of Bradford in Yorkshire, was born Feb. 16, 1644; admitted of Christ's College, Cambridge, April 26, 1660; B. A. 1663; M. A. 1667; chaplain the same year to
Sir

book. I learn since that he has also lodged an appeal with your Grace; foreseeing what would be the

Sir Heneage Finch, attorney general; incorporated M.A. at Oxford 1669; archdeacon of Berks 1672; prebendary of Norwich 1675; and, in the same year, rector first of St. Bartholomew near the Royal Exchange, London, and then of St. Giles in the Fields; lecturer of St. Lawrence Jewry 1679; D.D. the same year; dean of Norwich 1681. He was afterwards chaplain to Charles II. and James II.; but, May 14, 1686, preaching warmly against popery at St. Giles's, he was silenced by the King's order; and Bishop Compton was suspended from his office for not turning him out. By King William he was made dean of Canterbury, Sept. 29, 1689; archbishop of York, July 2, 1691. He preached the Sermon at the Coronation of Queen Anne, April 21, 1702; was sworn of the privy-council, March 20, 1702-3; and soon after was made Lord Almoner. Mackay, about this period, says, "He is one of the greatest ornaments of the Church of England, of great piety and learning; a black man, and 55 years old."—About the same time John Dunton says of him, "Where shall I begin? When so many things present themselves, it is hard reducing them to order; when such a variety of great things meet, it is not easy to judge which most contributes to his just character. Those who (like Archbishop Sharp) are raised upon virtue, are durable and permanent; others may shine sooner, but these surer and longer; those are as blazing meteors, these as fixed stars. I shall first speak of him (in a lower orb) as minister of St. Giles's; here his labours were unwearied, and such efficacy accompanied the word preached (and his unexampled eloquence) that St. Giles's was greatly reformed. But King William hearing how useful he was in the church, we must prepare to meet him in a higher sphere; and the next preferment he bestowed upon him, was the Archbishoprick of York: and here we find him acting suitably to the toil and greatness of that large diocese he is called to preside over." *Life and Errors*, p. 443. He was an able antiquary, and excelled in the belles lettres. He gave to the Library of the Dean and Chapter at York, the valuable collections towards a parochial history which had been formed by James Torr; and had himself begun a most useful work of collecting the endowments and benefactions to the churches and chapels in his diocese. His remarks on English, Scotch, and Irish Money were in Thoresby's Museum; and another copy is in the Harleian library.

issue of his cause in this Diocese. I should very ill deserve the kind patronage your Grace has been pleased to allow that book, if I had wittingly advanced any thing (either in it or its preface) that might seem unworthy of so great a protection. All I have to say, my Lord, in my own defence, is only this; the matter of fact is punctually true, as I have related it: and then I leave it to your Grace to determine, whether the Doctor or the Publick has been the worse treated. The Cartulary of Wetherhall * is in our treasury; and there it is like to remain, amongst other records relating to our Church. Neither that nor any other manuscript (either of the Doctor's composure, or any other person's) is yet in our Library; and, I confess, I am still very confident that none of those that are mentioned in the printed Catalogue will ever come there. The Doctor, indeed, once shewed us one small volume of his Collections, relating to the affairs of the Chapter: but there appeared so many gross mistakes in it, that it was presently withdrawn; and we have not (till now that my preface seems to have discomposed the author) heard one word more of that, or its fellows. The bookbinder's slackness has (it seems) been the chief occasion of their lying dormant for two long years, after the printed lists of them were sent abroad: but now they will immediately (as he says) make their public entry, and Library. They were published by Mr. Ives in his "Select Papers, 1773," No I. 4to; and his Observations on the Coinage of England, in a Letter to Mr. Thoresby, 1693-4," form the XXXVth number of the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica." He died at Bath, Feb. 2, 1713-14; and was buried in his cathedral of York; where a handsome monument records his merits.

* A small Benedictine cell in Cumberland.

take their proper places. If this proves true, I shall be able to give some account of them in the second part of my book; which, I do assure your Grace, shall be done with all the candour that is consistent with truth. I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged and most dutiful son,
W. N.

19. TO DR. TODD, AT EDNAL.

SIR,

AUG. 7, 1696.

I HAVE received your letter; as I have also an account of another from Nunnington to my Lord of York. My cousin Pearson could have told you that my preface bears a much older date than you imagine. It is above a year since he had the perusal of it: and I leave it to yourself to reflect, whether your treatment of me about that time might not justly occasion something of a warm resentment whenever you came in my way. I know no step you have made towards a friendly and brotherly reconciliation since; and, therefore, you have the less reason to complain. Upon the whole, I can only say (what I have already said to my Lord of York) that what I have asserted in that preface is (to the best of my knowledge) punctually true. If your books be placed in our Library, I shall (in my second part, which is called for) give as fair and candid account of them, as I judge to be consistent with truth.

It is two years since you dispersed the printed Catalogues of our Northern MSS; and, in that time,

time, there might have been as fruitless enquiries after some (you mention) in our Library, as there have been in others. What could be the meaning of your delaying the placing your books where you had so long since told the world they were to be found? In short, Brother, if there be a scandal given, you must bear your share of it.

I shall endeavour (when you give no provocation to the contrary) always to behave myself as becomes,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

20. TO MR. LHWYD*.

DEAR SIR,

OCT. 2, 1696.

I CANNOT well tell you how welcome your Glamorganshire letter (with the inclosed inscription) was to me: but very welcome it was. It came a little too late to be imparted to our friend Mr. Gibson, who had left me a day or two before I received it. J. Archer will be here the next week. He and I have rambled as much this Summer as the ill weather would allow us to do; and, as far as I can learn, your road and ours have been alike diverting. Our countries do not much differ. If you had Crystals at Snowden, we had our Diamonds in seve-

* Of whom see p. 25.—In Ballard's Collection of MS Letters in the Bodleian Library, liii. 68, it appears that Mr. Lhwyd's MSS. were offered to sale; that Mr. Hearne saw them, Feb. 7, 1715, and thought them worth 50 or 60 pounds; and recommended the purchase of them to the University. Among those he saw Fitz Stephen's Life of Thomas à Beckett, No 70. Before it was his "Description of London," the second copy Hearne had ever seen; the first was a MS, in the Bodleian Library, which he printed in Leland's Itinerary.

ral of our copper, lead, and iron mines: and, because you brag of your Amethysts and Topazes, I have sent you a sample of each, which (we hope) will match the fairest you have. I have added three or four of our *Sphenisci*, and a piece of a freestone from Tow-house, near Haltwistel, where (for several fathoms) the *Pectinitæ* are thus embodied in the quarry. I have large pieces of limestone stuck (very thick) with *Entrochi*, *Sphenisci*, &c. which has frequently occasioned a doubt in me, whether your *Corallium minimum calcariis rupibus adnescens* be not of this kind. I have met with several of your Welsh mosses, and other plants, on our mountains and shores. Those places do so exceedingly alter the complexion of all sorts of vegetables, that (without a deal of caution) we shall be inclined to think we make more new discoveries than indeed we do. The very countenances of our shepherds and fishermen are strangely different from those of other men: and, perhaps, we may as well reckon these a new set of animals, as maintain that all our alpine and marine plants differ specifically from their kindred in the country and valleys. The next year (if God continues my life and health) I may, probably, say more to you on this subject; for I have abundance of unfinished thoughts upon it. You had formerly my thoughts of some gigantic bones that have been found at Corbridge, and other places in Northumberland. There was, a few months ago, a piece of the horn of a fallow-deer brought me out of Westmorland, which mightily confirms me in the opinion I long since had of those matters. It is only a part of the beam from the antler to the first branch, but weighs four pounds (at sixteen ounces to the pound) and

and a quarter, and is above eight inches in circumference in the smallest part. It was found at a good depth within the ground near the Forest of Whinfield; the earth being carried off in a flood by the river Eden. It is now of a substance as hard and flinty as it is ponderous; and seems to have as much of stone as horn in its composition. I cannot believe that ever any fallow-deer (for it is certainly of that kind), either in England or any other part of the world, could carry a brace of such horns: so that I must needs think there has been a mighty increase of its bulk (*per totum et per minima*) since it was first buried in the earth; and that it is very possible for such osseous substances to admit of monstrous enlargements, still retaining their pristine and natural figure.

I had this Summer a surprizing and kind letter (followed by a present of formed stones, shells, &c.) from Dr. Woodward; who says he will very shortly publish remarks on those and some others which I sent him (in return) from this country. I suppose the remarks will be part of his larger work; and will, therefore, hardly make such haste as to supersede your synopsis. I have (with some freedom) acquainted him with several objections I had against his hypothesis: all which, he says, I shall see effectually answered. I dare not press him to give me so much as one of his answers before the publick has them, lest he should be as jealous of me as (I am told) he is already of you.

I desired Mr. Gibson to order a little book of mine to await your coming home. I hope you will forgive the free use I make of your name in it; and let me have your honest thoughts of the whole and
all

all its parts. I can patiently and thankfully endure correction, where I am in a fault. I took the advantage of Mr. Gibson's seconding me in a fresh attempt for subscriptions to your proposals: but all our grandees are wholly bent upon ways and means to support the war. Nothing of the advancement of learning will be heard on. I am always, with, &c.

Yours, W. N.

21. TO MR. LHWYD.

DEAR SIR,

JAN. 25, 1696-7.

I HAVE received both your present of stones and your last letter, with the account of the Saxon pieces. Whatever throng you believe me to be in, I am always at leisure to serve you to the utmost of my power. I thought once, indeed, to have deferred writing till the return of the carrier (soon after Candlemas), who shall bring you what I mentioned from Stainton, &c. But I consider you will take your flight very shortly: and I would make the best use of you whilst I know where to find you. You do not tell me whether the coins are silver or brass. I have a score of the latter metal, found in Yorkshire, which are lettered much at the same rate with these of yours. The first four (and the last) have some of their kindred amongst Mr. Walker's in the late edition of Camden, Tab. V. 21, 22, 23; particularly your third seems to be the same with his twenty-third. But I am not of his opinion, that these pieces were coined, in honour of St. Edmund, by some follow-
ing

ing Kings. I rather think they were coined at St. Edmundsbury: as those that he formerly took to be Peter-pence were undoubtedly at (St. Peter's in) York. He allowed himself to be corrected in that conjecture; and I do not see why he should not consent to it in this. King Æthelstane's law says, the lesser boroughs had one mint apiece, besides those that are there particularly mentioned.—I know not what to make of the fifth. The sixth needs no explanation. Whether the seventh belong to Edilred, son of Mollo, King of Northumberland, I leave you to consider. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, I take to be all coined by King Edward senior. For the eighth (as also for the eleventh and twelfth), compare the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of Mr. Walker's sixth table. The ninth has its fellow, Tab. VIII. 20. The tenth's reverse mentions (it may be) that Osulf, who was created Earl of Northumberland by King Eadred, this Edward's son. The thirteenth is King Eadwig's; and agrees with Mr. Walker's, Tab. VI. 31. For the fourteenth compare Tab. VII. 30. It is one of those found at Harkirk. Mr. Walker knew not what it meant; nor do I. If there be room for his conjecture, that the old Irish Kings sometimes coined money, this might as easily drop out of that Island into Anglesey, as any part of Britain: and I should be inclined to think this and the fifteenth to be both of that country, did not the $\bar{A}$ on the reverse of the latter prove it to be English. But (pray) why should we not rather ascribe some of these strange pieces to the Danish princes? Why may we not call them the old Oræ. I know Sir H. Spelman and others set the value of an Ora much higher. But

But I do not see what allowance or encouragement our Saxon laws (which are the pretended rules they walk by) will give for such an assertion. We cannot thence certainly learn the proportion betwixt a Danish and English mulct: and when Sir Henry quotes the famous Domesday in the Exchequer, and the "*Regiam Majestatem*" of Scotland, he only entangles the cause. His quotation out of the latter is also false; for it says they were *tres Oræ Aureæ* which were the price of a cow. I am sure an *Or* (at this day) both in Sweden and Denmark is about the value of an English penny, and I think I have as good cause to believe that their *Oræ* anciently bore the like proportion to our Saxon penny, as any man can have to believe the contrary. But enough of this.

As to your enquiry about my MS copy of Howel Dha's Laws, I guess it to have been penned about the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is not entire; wanting something (though I think not much) towards the latter end. The whole is just thirty-nine pages in octavo. It begins, *Howel boni filius Kadell qui fuit Rex in suo tempore per totam Walliam, &c.*; and ends with these words *Injuria filiae ejus est VII libræ. Hic liber scriptus, qui scripsit benedictus.* In the reckoning up the twenty-four courtiers, it says only, *Quorum primus est paterfamilias, i. penteullu,* going on to the next, without that remark which you mention.

An account of three or four pieces in your Catalogue, Number 6682, 7066, 7069, 7339, and 7436, to be sent with the parochial queries by Burnyeat.

Yours, &c. W. N.

22. TO MR. TANNER*.

SIR,

JAN. 30, 1696-7.

I VERY heartily thank you for your last kind letter; and must beg the continuance of your remarks, with what convenient speed you can. I

* This excellent Antiquary (son of a father of both his names, vicar of Market Lavington in Wilts) was born in 1674; became a student in Queen's College, Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1689; admitted clerk in that house 1690; B.A. 1693; entered into holy orders at Christmas 1694; and became chaplain of All Souls College in January following; chosen fellow of Queen's, 1697; chancellor of Norwich, and rector of Thorpe near that city, 1701; installed prebendary of Ely, Sept. 10, 1713 (which he quitted 1723); Archdeacon of Norwich, Dec. 7, 1721; Canon of Christ Church, Feb. 3, 1723-4; prolocutor of the lower house of convocation convened in 1727, to which honour he was unanimously elected on account of his great abilities, however contrary to his own inclinations; and was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, Jan. 23, 1731-2. In 1733 he married a second wife, Miss Scottow, of Thorp, near Norwich, with whom he had a fortune of 15,000 *l.* In Ballard's Collection of MS Letters in the Bodleian Library (IV. 34 and 46) are his account and his character of both his wives. He died at Christ Church, Oxford, Dec. 4, 1735; and was buried in the nave of that cathedral, near the pulpit; where a monument to his memory is affixed to one of the pillars, with this inscription:

“M. S.

THOMÆ TANNER, S.T.P.

qui natus Lavingtoniæ in agro Wiltoniensi,

in Collegium Reginense admissus,

deinde Omnium Animarum Capellanus,

mox Socius cooptatus est.

Optimarum ibi artium cultor,

Antiquitatis præsertim studio ita trahebatur,

ut in Patriæ fastis monumentisque eruendis

nemo illo diligentior,

nemo in explicandis peritior haberetur.

Hinc maturè advocatus

ad munus Cancellarii Dioceseös Nordovicensis,

auctus

would, as soon as it is possible, rid my hands of the second part, which treats solely of our Ecclesiastical Historians. I am forced to reserve what I have to say on our Law-writers, Records, &c. for the third and last; having more on that subject than I could well crowd into this. In that you will find several men and things (which you observe to be omitted in my first chapter) pretty largely treated on. However, let me desire you to continue the same niceness in your following notes. In all of them you either instruct or confirm me; and, with-

auctus est insuper Præbendâ Eliensi.

Academiæ denuò restitutus,

hanc Ædem Canonicus ornavit.

A Clero interim Prolocutor renunciatus,
ad Episcopatum tandem evectus est Asavensem.

Vir erat

ad omne officium summâ fide et diligentia,
rarâ pietate,

humanissimâ erga omnes voluntate,

liberalitate in egenos effusissimâ.

Obiit 14 die Decembris, A.D. 1735, ætatis 62."

He published, before he was 22 years old, "Notitia Monastica, or a short History of the Religious Houses in England and Wales," 1695, 8vo. republished in folio, 1751, with great additions (which he began to collect in 1715), by his brother Mr. John Tanner, præcentor of St. Asaph, and rector of Lowestoft, Suffolk. His "Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica," which employed him forty years, was published in 1748, folio; with a posthumous preface by Dr. Wilkins. Many interesting particulars concerning Bp. Tanner may be found in his own Letters in Ballard's Collection; and his immense and valuable Collections, amongst which are ample materials for the county of Wilts, and large notes on Richard Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert, 1663, are now in the Bodleian Library. His portrait was engraved at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries. His only son (by his first wife) Thomas Tanner, D.D. (who married a daughter of Archbishop Potter) was a prebendary of Canterbury, and successor to Dr. Wilkins in the rectories of Hadleigh and Monks Eleigh, Suffolk.

out

out such a freedom among us, we shall never attain the end (which I hope we all aim at) of effectually informing and guiding our readers to outdo us in their discoveries.

I am sorry to hear that Mr. Worms is stepped off without finishing his book. It is certain he has noted one mistake in me: the Bishop of Scallholt was the sole publisher of his "Aras;" but I am not convinced that any other matter he alledges is fairly chargeable upon me. I know not how well he may have translated his own author: but I am very confident he less understood what he quotes from Snorro than either Bartholine or I, as little skill as I have in the Islandic. The words "*seinar bokar*," which he lays a stress upon as if they were plural, are certainly of the singular number: and it was undoubtedly Snorro's opinion (as it is mine) that Aras wrote only one history, whereof this (formerly published by the Bishop, and now translated by Mr. Worms) is only a part. It is plain, in some other sheets of that work, he treated of the affairs of England; so that my whole error is thus easily corrected: "Some part of this fell (happily) into the hands of (Thomas Bartholine's friend) the Bishop of," &c. This, and more to the like purpose, Mr. Worms should have heard from me, if he had staid to publish his dissertation: but, since he has left that and me so abruptly as you speak of, I think I had best wave the engaging with waste papers, and the children's kites. If that hard fate, which you seem to expect, does really befall the gentleman's labours, I wish you could pick up for me so many of the sheets as are printed; and give them to some of our friends at Queen's, to be sent hither by the next return

turn of Burnyeat. I have got Dr. Smith's Catalogue of the Cotton Library, which has cleared a deal of mists and scruples that were upon me. It also supplies a great many defects in your "Notitia;" as, I suppose, I need not tell you. I hope Dr. Bernard had completed his Collections before his death: or, at least, has left them in such hands as will take care to do it speedily. I was once encouraged to expect the perusal of that work, so far as it is already carried: but, it seems, such a favour was not to be granted. I have long since seen (*peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum*) what he had sent in to him from the North; and I have also had what was (of much better authority and more value) communicated to him by Mr. Lhwyd. The rest I am a stranger to. It goes a little against the grain with me to send off any more of my papers, till I could learn from thence what farther additions or references might be had: and yet, if I cannot come at them quickly, this part shall take the same fortune with the first: let them add to it into whose hands it shall fall. Once more requesting your speedy dispatch of the remaining notes,

I am, sir, &c. W. N.

23. TO MR. LHWYD.

DEAR SIR,

APRIL 22, 1697.

IF this reaches you before you take your long flight, it will let you know that I have your letter and the papers sent from London; for both which I am heartily thankful. I find you will instruct both

Dr.

Dr. Woodward and me (and others more knowing than either of us) in your "*Ichnographia*," which I very much long to see; especially on account of your notion about the *Asteria* and *Spheniscus*. It is three months (at least) since I gave Mr. Teasdale * a letter for you, with the *Star-Entrochi* inclosed. I heard, indeed, he stayed much longer than he intended to do when I took leave: but I hope he has, however, by this time conveyed them safe. The place where I found them afforded me a repeated argument of many of our *Entrochi* being now *in fieri*. For some furlongs together you may have plenty of them little harder than the bed of clay they are lodged in; which, falling into the brook below, turn as hard as the *Lapis Judaicus*. If you will believe these (before they fall) to be rather in their declining age than (as I imagine) in their first generation—*Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ*. Water must certainly be a great restorer of decayed nature, youth and vigour; whereas I only thought its lapidescent quality had perfected these productions, which before wanted moisture and coldness sufficient to do the work. In the same place the *Entrochi* are so numerous (on both the banks of the brook for several acres in length) that it will be difficult to conjecture how so many Sea Stars could ever be thrown together. I have a clott of soil (not so big as both my fists) wherein are some thousands of little ones; nor could I pitch any where without meeting with them in almost the like plentiful abundance. It is true, we have beds of Cockles and Muscles (in several of our shores) that are extremely thronged with these shell-fish: but have you any proof of the *Stel-*

* William Teasdale, M. A. of Queen's College, Oxford, 1693.

læ Marinæ being found in such heaps and plenty? Perhaps you may: I am sure I am not fit to argue with you on this subject.

In one of the papers you sent me (that of Bridferth of Ramsey's book) there is a specimen of an old Latin MS. of the Gospels; whereof I must desire a further account. Are those Gospels under the same cover with Bridferth's Computus? and do you believe the character to be as antient as that writer's time? The reason why I impatiently desire an answer to these queries is this: I took a progress (last week) into Scotland, to view a famous cross in a church near Dumfries *. I was surprized with the inscriptions, very fair and legible on all its four sides. They were Latin and Runic intermixed. The former are exactly in the same character with these Gospels: which (I confess) I judged to be later than the tenth century; and, therefore, surmised that here was an evident proof of the Runic alphabets being continued in this Isle after the most of its Danish inhabitants were gone. I should be better pleased to discover that this noble monument (for such indeed it is) bears an elder date than I was aware of. If you have any Danish gentleman in the University (now that my friend Worm has left it) who are skilled in their antient language, I should be ready and glad to communicate the whole to them, and my thoughts upon it. It is the largest, and most complete of the kind, that I ever met with; and outdoes both ours in Cumberland.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

* See p. 63.

24. TO MR. LHWYD.

DEAR SIR,

MAY 24, 1697.

I VERY well remember my answering of the last letter I had from you before your leaving Oxford. When I received it, I was newly returned from Scotland; where I met with a most ravishing Runic monument, whereof I gave you some account. I shall again do that more at large; sending you the inscription, which most affected me. It is on a square stone-cross in Revel church (or St. Ruel's) within eight miles of Dumfries. They have a long traditional legend about its being brought thither from the sea-shore, not far distant. On the other two sides of the square there are draughts of Christ and Mary Magdalen; St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Wilderness, &c.; and a Latin circumscription, in the same character with that of the Gospels in Bridferth of Ramsey's book, whereof you sent me a specimen. The old Danish letters are the most fresh and fair that I ever saw. If, in your travels, you meet with any *Ædipus* that can perfectly unriddle them, it is more than I am yet able to do; though I hope shortly to give some tolerable account of them.

Your Glamorganshire coin is not singular in countenancing my conjecture; with its *foramen ad trajiciendum funiculum*, as Bartholine expresses it. (My Lord Archbishop of York has others of the same kind.) Nor is my opinion grounded on that single authority: for, besides the men he quotes to shew that the Amulets of the antients carried *monstrousi alicujus animalis aut Dei sculpturam*;
I find

I find a deal of encouragement in it from the account given of the old *Talismath* and 'Αβραξαι in Mr. Selden's Dissertations (*de Diis Syris*) and Scaliger's Epistles. One of the Archbishop's (which his Grace took to be Cunobeline's, bearing *Cuno*, as it was guessed) I take to be of the same complexion with Demetrius's *ναοὶ ἀργυροὶ*, Act xix. 24, a piece coined to the honour of Juno, and thought to secure the protection of that goddess to any that wore it about him.

I find Master Teasdale came not to Oxford till after you left it; so that I had much better have employed a more ordinary carrier. The *Star-Entrochi* which he had from me would (I am confident) please you. They are pretty rare: but in the place whence I had them, the common sort are so prodigiously plentiful, that it is hard to imagine how the spoils of any one kind of fish should thus crowd up some acres of ground.

The second part of my book is now in the press: Mr. Gibson will deliver a copy to your order, as soon as it is finished. Let me hear from you as frequently as you can.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

25. TO DR. WAKE*.

REV. SIR,

JUNE 7, 1697.

I AM ashamed to tell you that I never saw your book till Saturday last; a whole month after the

* William Wake, born in Dorsetshire 1657, was educated at Christ's Church, Oxford, 1672; M.A. there 1679; and, taking orders,

receipt of your kind letter. I read it with much greediness, and such a longing haste, that (if I were otherwise qualified) I am, for this reason, not very able to give so much as a tolerable account of it. I must hope (both for your sake and my own) that you had a good share of the materials in readiness before the Convocation Letter was published; for, otherwise, you have laboured at such a rate as is enough to hazard your own health, and to discourage others from making any Collections of the

orders, became preacher at Gray's Inn. He took the degree of D.D. 1689; and was appointed deputy clerk of the closet and chaplain in ordinary to King William and Queen Mary; made dean of Christ Church in the same year; rector of St. James's Westminster 1694; dean of Exeter 1701; bishop of Lincoln 1705: and archbishop of Canterbury in January 1715-16. He was a man of uncommon abilities and learning; an advocate for free enquiry and liberty when he was young; but age and preferment seem to have changed him a little in that respect; at least he was far from being so zealous about them after his advancement to the See of Canterbury. He died at Lambeth, and was buried in the Bishop's Chancel at Croydon, where two black marble ledgers are thus inscribed:

1. "Depositum

GULIELMI WAKE,

Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,

qui obiit xxiv Januarii, anno Dom. MDCCXXXVI.

ætatis suæ LXXIX.

Et

Etheldredæ uxoris ejus,

quæ obiit xi Aprilis, MDCCXXXV,

Ætatis suæ LXII."

2. "Underneath lyeth interred (near the remains of her parents) the body of Mrs. DOROTHY PENNYMAN, relict of Sir JAMES PENNYMAN, of Thornton, in the county of York, baronet, and one of the daughters and coheirs of Dr. WILLIAM WAKE, late lord Archbishop of Canterbury. She died the 2d day of December, 1754, aged 55 years."

F

like

like kind. Your arguments also upon the alledged authorities are such as every body will allow to be (alone) work enough for the while you were confined to. You have, undoubtedly, asserted the authority of Christian Princes so fully and close, that very few (I am confident) will think your book an *imperfect* Essay; and as few will complain of your digressions as *not directly to the purpose*. Some things I cursorily noted as seemingly new; and what (I fancy) will be disputed:

1. You give the Archbishop, in *Convocation*, a power of judging Heresy by his sole authority, pp. 117, 118. Will it not be said that you ascribe that to his Grace in our English Synods, which Father Paul and Richerius have (with applause) denied the Pope in a General Council?

2. You tell us the Canons are as binding as Acts of Parliament, p. 211; and yet you say they ought not to be called Laws, p. 285; and you seem to be angry at the Letter for naming them so, p. 297. What will the *Doctores utriusque* say to this? They have been accustomed to talk as familiarly of the Canon Law as the Imperial: and, I confess, I do not see but Suarez's definition of *Lex* will fit our Constitutions at Westminster, as well as any that were ever made at Basil or Trent.

3. Will not our Common Lawyers be as angry as the Canonists, when they observe you make *Logic* one thing, and *Law* another, p. 252; and affirm (what most of them deny) that the Canons of 1640 are as valid as those of 1603, p. 257?

4. The Church, you say, p. 265, has no inherent right of assembling Synods. How will this agree with the Convocation's being essential to our Constitution;

Constitution; and (when manifestly needful) the Church has a right to its sitting, pp. 267, 268?

5. Are you not too severe upon the members of our present Convocation, when you give such broad hints at their being *warm and unthinking*, p. 270; and having their *very reason depraved*, p. 316; when you affirm that the present distemper of our Church is too great to be healed, p. 315; and that a Convocation (at liberty to treat freely) would be a remedy worse than the disease, p. 325?

These are the only particulars which (in a very hasty reading) I thought liable to be frowned at; and, if I have misrepresented any of them, you must impute it to my forward desire to deal frankly with you. I wonder you should not take notice of your adversary's falling under the censure of the eleventh and twelfth Canons? Does he not proceed upon the very principles of the Anabaptists, which are there condemned?

The Register-books of our Convocations at York are (some of them) pretty antient, but fall far short of the 9th of Edw. II. If you are not already provided with whatever can be furnished out of that store, I can readily have any queries answered, as far as those books will enable us to do it.

You have, sir, my humble thanks for the trouble you were pleased to give yourself with my papers. As soon as they are printed, they will once more be offered to your perusal: and what you then observe wanting or amiss in them, I promise myself you will further communicate to, sir,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

26. TO MR. THWAITES*.

SIR,

JUNE 29, 1697.

I WAS some time ago acquainted (by your good friend and mine, Mr. Gibson) that you were designing an edition of the Saxon Pentateuch; and by the last post I had a specimen of the book from Mr. Elstob†. You will easily imagine how much I am pleased to see that sort of Learning flourish; and how ready I shall always be to give it the utmost furtherance that a man in my circumstances can do.

I gave Mr. Gibson, some years ago, a small fragment of such a version of Exodus, which I presume he has communicated to you. I have not hitherto been able to retrieve the remaining parts of that and the other four books; though I had once good encouragement to hope I should, and I do not yet despair of it. But—the various readings would not be many, if we may judge by this scrap that the whole would afford us; and therefore the want of such an entire copy is the less considerable. I need not tell you that, in the Preface to King Ælfred's Laws, we have not only the Decalogue already published from the 20th of Exodus, but most of the three following chapters, and some other portions of the Jewish Law, wherein perhaps the printed copy may differ from your manuscript. You will give me leave to subscribe for a dozen copies of your book. The money shall be sent as you shall direct.

I lately sent Mr. Elstob a Runic inscription, which I desired he might communicate to you, and

* Of whom an account will be found under Letter 46.

† Mr. William Elstob, the learned Saxonist; of whom, and of his not less learned Sister, some memoirs may be seen in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer."

whereof

whereof I must hope to have your thoughts. You that are skilled in Cædmon's dialect cannot fail of being the best interpreter of such monuments as these. By the way, Cædmon's Paraphrase (if it be not the work of some later writer) must furnish out some Notes on your Pentateuch. I had that book given me, twenty years ago, by its worthy publisher; but mine wants the title, preface, and index. If the other printed copies have any such furniture, an account of them would be very acceptable to, sir,

Your affectionate friend, to serve you, W. N.

27. TO DR. WOODWARD*.

JULY 29, 1697.

I AM glad to find that you look upon the Horn I sent you to be of the same kind with those so largely

* John Woodward, the celebrated Physician and Naturalist, born in Derbyshire, May 1, 1665, was bred to the profession of a linen-draper; but quitted trade for philosophy, which he studied under the immediate care of Dr. Peter Barwick, who took him into his house; as did afterwards Sir Ralph Dutton, at Sherborne, in Gloucestershire; where he began his observations on the present state of our globe. He was chosen professor of Physic in Gresham college, Jan. 13, 1692; F.R.S. 1693. In 1695 he published his "Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth;" and obtained the degree of M.D. from Abp. Tenison. In 1696 he was admitted to the same degree at Cambridge, and became a member of Pembroke College. He was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians 1698; a fellow in 1702; and, after distinguishing himself by a variety of useful publications, died at Gresham College, April 25, 1728; and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His memory is also perpetuated at Cambridge, by having founded the *Woodwardian* Professorship, an office which was first filled in 1731 by the famous Dr. Conyers Middleton.

described

described by Dr. Molyneux * in the Transactions of April last. I was pretty confident, for some of the very reasons he mentions, that it could not belong to the Elk. Whether there were indeed any Moose Deer in this Island heretofore, is a question I must leave to your solution; but such Horns as this, it is apparent, have been met with in the days of our grandfathers. That which Dr. Caius sent to Gesner I take to be of this sort; notwithstanding the cut brings it nearer to that of our common fallow. Britain was antiently remarkable for Deer of an extraordinary size: but we must also find out a different species from any we have at this day, to carry a pair of beams of such a prodigious bulk. The Doctor's fancy about the Pestilential Murrain is certainly very precarious. I should rather incline to believe them brought hither at the same time with the spoils of other American animals; and that they are a further illustration of your hypothesis. I hope to give you some more instances of the productions of the other world being buried in these parts. As to the Doctor's conceit of the marle (wherein the Horns are found) being once at the surface of the earth, it is as fond a thought as the former; for why should not these heavy bodies sink as deep as pieces of cleft oak, which (as Mr. Beaumont informs us) have been found in the middle of sawn stones in Mendip Hills at five or six fathoms within the ground †? Those rocks were undoubtedly, when

* See "A Discourse," by Dr. William Molyneux, concerning the large Horns found under-ground in Ireland, concluding from them that the great American Deer, called a Moose, was formerly common in that Island;" Phil. Trans. vol. XIX. p. 489.

† See Mr. John Beaumont, "on Rock Plants, and their Growth," Phil. Trans. vol. XI. p. 724; and his "Further Account of some Rock Plants of Mendip Hills;" vol. XIII. p. 276.

the wood was first lodged in them, beds of sand or clay; or, perhaps, in that more fluid state which you suppose at, and a little after, the Universal Deluge.

I have not enjoyed so good a health this Summer as formerly; so that some of my designs are like to prove abortive. Some rambles I have already had; and more are intended. When I come to sum up my accounts, about October, you may be assured of having whatever I can think worth imparting; for (without a compliment) Mr. Edwards himself cannot be more passionately and truly than I am, sir,

Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

W. N.

28. TO MR. WOTTON*.

DEAR SIR,

SEPT. 11, 1697.

HAD I not formerly told you that I usually spend most of the Summer season in rambling, simpling, &c. I should think myself unpardonable in not hav-

* This was the famous William Wotton, whose extraordinary genius for learning languages when a boy was so generally admired. He was born at Wrentham in Suffolk, Aug. 13, 1666; admitted of Catharine-Hall, Cambridge, 1676, at ten years old; B.A. 1679; and B.D. 1691, being then a fellow of St. John's. The same year Bishop Lloyd gave him the sinecure of Llandrillo in Denbighshire. He was afterwards made chaplain to the earl of Nottingham, then secretary of state, who in 1693 presented him to the rectory of Middleton Keynes in Buckinghamshire. He obtained a prebend at Salisbury in 1705; and, after appearing before the publick repeatedly as an author, he printed in the "Bibliotheca Literaria," 1723, an account of the "Caernarvon Record," a manuscript in the Harleian library. This manuscript is an account of several antient Welsh tenures, and had some relation to the Welsh Laws, which he was busy in translating.

He

ing sooner returned my thanks for your book *, and (as you will have it) my opinion of its contents. I assure you the two editions of your *Reflections* have been my chief and constant companions ever since I received the latter. If I should tell you now, that I never in my whole life had more agreeable conversation; that I admire your mustering up of authors, as if your reading had never given you leisure to think; and at the same time your arguing at such a rate as shews you understand thinking as well as either Locke or Malebranche, &c.; you would fancy I had a design to flatter you. To avoid, therefore, all imputations and surmises of that kind, I will only at present trouble you with a few remarks upon some of your additions; that you may be assured I have perused and compared both your books.

Postscript, p. xxii. Among the subjects discoursed on by Mons. Perrault, in his late Treatise, we have Geography and Navigation. And, pray, why have you omitted them?

He undertook that laborious work at the instance of Dr. Wake, who knew that the trouble of learning a new and very difficult language would be no discouragement to Dr. Wotton. It was published in 1730. But this was a posthumous work: for he died Feb. 13, 1726. He left a daughter, who was the wife of the Rev. William Clarke, canon-residentary of Chichester. What distinguished him from other men chiefly was his memory: his superiority seems to have lain in the strength of that faculty; for, by never forgetting any thing, he became immensely learned and knowing; and, what is more, his learning (as one expresses it) "was all in ready cash, which he was able to produce at sight." He lived at a season when a man of learning would have been better preferred than he was; but it is supposed that some little irregularity of conduct prevented it.—An ample memoir of this learned man will be given in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer."

* "Reflections upon Antient and Modern Learning, 1694."

P. 14. Aristotle's Rhetorick is well added to his Ethicks. It is (in my poor opinion) the best book we have that bears his name.

P. 59. You have transferred hither (from p. 94 of the former edition) a severe reflection upon Sir W. T. * for his writing *Delphos* instead of *Delphi*. You first called it only a *small mistake*; but you now descant on it as a want of skill in criticism. I can tell you of a learned person (Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, in his Life of Mahomet, p. 96) who talks of the *temple of Delphos*; and, to my knowledge, would look wondrous gruff if you should tell him he does not understand Criticism and Language. Had it not been as well to have waved a personal note; as you do, p. 135, edit. 1, p. 138, edit. 2, when for Sir W. T. you speak generally of the *modern advocates* for the *Ægyptians*? You will be able to retaliate abundantly upon me, in the perusal of my book; and, I beseech you, do it freely.

P. 139. *Chaldaean Observations, rather Registers, &c.* seems to be an expression a little too harsh. For how should *observations* be *predictions*?

P. 272. I am glad to find Dr. Woodward amongst those from whom (you say) we have *new scenes of knowledge in Natural History*. Why should it not be also said of him (what you note of Dr. Harvey, Postscript p. xxxiii.) that he is the man who *first saw the importance of some noble hints, which he improved into a theory, &c.*

P. 283. Are you not too lavish in the commendations of your ingenious friend; so as to lessen the great services of Mr. Ray †?

* Sir William Temple.

† The well-known and justly celebrated Naturalist, who died in 1706, aged 77.

P. 297. Should not Mr. Woolrich's improvements in the art of making Cyder have been added to Mr. Evelyn's Pomona? Or, do you think it a *derogation* to that gentleman to *name any man after him* even here, as well as in his Sylva?

Let this for once excuse yours, &c. W. N.

I have lately received "Remarks *," &c. by Mr. Harris, Fellow of the Royal Society; whose name I never heard of, before I had his book. I wish it may not occasion some unhappy differences amongst the members of that body. Are not you a proper person to turn mediator?

29. TO DR. LOWTH †.

REV. SIR,

SEPT. 11, 1697.

I HAD this week an account (from a worthy and good friend of yours and mine) of your being dis-

* "Remarks on some late Papers relating to the Universal Deluge, and to the Natural History of the Earth," 1697, 8vo.—This was the same gentleman who afterwards published the "Collection of Voyages, 1705;" one volume of a "History of Kent;" and several other valuable works.

† Simon Lowth (son, probably, of Simon Lowth, rector of Dingley in Northamptonshire 1633, and afterwards ejected) was of Clare Hall, Cambridge; M.A. 1660; rector of St. Michael Harbledown 1670; and vicar of St. Cosmus and Damian on the Bleane 1679. Nov. 12, 1688, he was instituted by Bishop Sprat to the deanery of Rochester, on the death of Dr. Castilion. The mandate of installation issued in course, his lordship not having allowed himself time to examine whether the king's presentee was legally qualified; which was not the case, he being only master of arts, and the statute requiring that the dean should be at least bachelor of divinity. The bishop in a day or two discovering that he had been too precipitate, dispatched letters to the chapter clerk and one of the prebendaries, earnestly soliciting

turbed at a passage in the second part of my "Histo-
soliciting that Mr. Lowth might not be installed; and afterwards
in form revoked the institution till he should have taken the pro-
per degree. Nov. 27, Mr. Lowth attended the chapter, and pro-
duced his instruments; but every one of the three prebendaries
present refused to obey them. He was admitted to the degree of
D. D. Jan. 18; and on the 19th of March again claimed instal-
ment, but did not obtain possession. In August 1689 he was
suspended from his function, for not taking the oaths of alle-
giance, &c.; and in the February following he was *deprived* of both
his livings. See some circumstances relating to his deprivation,
in Duncombe's "Hospitals," p. 346, taken from a memorandum
in Bleane Register. The following publications bear his name:
1. "Letters between Dr. Gilbert Burnet and Mr. Simon Lowth,"
were published in 1684, 4to. 2. "The Subject of Church Power,
in whom it resides, that it opposes not Civil Government. By
Simon Lowth, Vicar of Cosmus Bleane, 1685," 8vo. 3. "A Let-
ter to Edward Stillingfleet, D.D. in answer to the Dedicatory
Epistle before his Ordination-Sermon, preached at St. Peter's,
Cornhill, March 15, 1684; with Reflections on some of Dr. Bur-
net's Letters on the same Subject. By Simon Lowth, Vicar
of Cosmus Bleane. London, 1687," 4to and 8vo. [This was
answered by Dr. Stillingfleet, who in 1689 was made Bishop of
Worcester, and died in 1699, æt. 64.] 4. "Historical Collections
concerning deposing of Bishops, 1696," 4to. In the opinion
of the compiler of "The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral
Church of Rochester" (Appendix, p. 104), he was a person no less
eminent for his piety, than for his great learning, sufficiently
manifested in his "Discourse of Church Power," and other pieces
with and without his name. But Bp. Nicolson, in his review of
this Discourse (English Hist. Library, p. 119), observes, that Dr.
Stillingfleet did the author an honour, which he had no right to ex-
pect, to expose his folly in a short letter to the bishop of London;
and, says Dr. Birch (Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 62), the Dean
of Canterbury did not think proper to take the least public notice
of so confused and unintelligible a writer, whose style is mere jar-
gon, though Dr. Hickes termed it an excellent book. Mr. Lowth
died July 3, 1720, aged near 90, and was buried in the new cemetery
belonging to the parish of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square,
(Mr. Brownè Willis's Letter to Dr. Denne).—See Mr. Denne, on
Thorpe's Custumale Roffense, p. 224; and Hasted, vol. III. p. 569.

rical Library;" wherein, you say, I have treated you much worse than you ever did either of *my Doctors* *. By the way, sir, give me leave to assure you, that these two Doctors are as much strangers to me as you are. I know not their faces; nor have I any sort of correspondence with either of them. However, I still think the Historian (whose cause I there chiefly maintain) is as coarsely handled as any man ever was by me: since *unfaithfulness, little sinister ends, and clawing*, are as scandalous faults in such a writer, as any I have objected.—In the next place, you say that I have picked up the story about Dr. P. (who had *nothing to do in the composure of your book*) *è triviis*. How so, sir? It was not, surely, bare hear-say and oral tradition that guided me, after I had seen that gentleman charged openly (in print) with being the true *parent of a forgery*, whereof he was afterwards the *nurse*. I have declined the severity of calling you his *journeyman* in that matter: and I cannot well persuade myself that it is any hardship upon you (whatever it may be upon the memory of your deceased friend) to intimate to the world that you were put upon the unmannerly and reflecting part of your work by another. You look upon my saying that Dr. Stillingfleet *exposed your folly*, to be the same thing as to call you *ninny* and *idiot*: whereas Dr. Grove (if he was the author of that letter you mention) long since told you that a *wise man may be sometimes guilty of folly*; and that, therefore, such an inference as this, which turns acts into habits, is not very logical. The short, sir, of my present case is this: I have a just esteem for the

* Dr. Burnet and Dr. Stillingfleet.

“History of the Reformation,” as a good and obliging service to our Church; and I have also a due regard for those many excellent qualifications whereof, I am now informed, you are master. I shall be as ready as any man living to correct * the bitterness of any expression in my book, upon a new and better light; which I have good encouragement to hope for in this particular. My scruples will vanish; and I *shall make satisfaction in as public a manner as (you think) I have abused you*, whenever you shall convince me that a substantial reply can be made to Dr. Burnet’s third letter; which seems to clear the whole controversy. The anonymous answerer of Dr. Grove’s paper will never persuade me that there is any great iniquity in the Historian; whose duty it was to publish matters as he found them, whatever disservice might accrue to his own (or any other) *party* by his so doing: and the suggestion

* In the corrected edition of the “Historical Library,” the passage stands thus: “Mr. S. Lowth pretended only to batter the Erastian tenets in Mr. Hobbes’s Leviathan; but took occasion, in the conclusion of his book, to censure the account Dr. Burnet had given of some of Archbishop Cranmer’s singular opinions. This gentleman had the confidence to assert, ‘that both our Historian and Dr. Stillingfleet had imposed upon the world in that particular; and had unfaithfully joined together in their endeavours to lessen Episcopal ordination.’ I am not now concerned with his charge against Dr. Stillingfleet, who did him the honour, which he ought not to have hoped for, to expose his folly in a short letter to the Bishop of London. His quarrel with Dr. Burnet is wholly about method, and the art of composure; wherein, most certainly, these two authors have extremely differed. And yet, notwithstanding the awkwardness of Mr. Lowth’s style, it is thought the man himself was not master of so much venom and ill-nature as appears in his book: but that he had a great share of his spiteful language put into his mouth by a warm neighbour, who is now dead, and ought to be forgotten.”

made

made by the Popish author of *Church Government* is malicious and spiteful. The chief end that he proposed in making this remark, as well as many others he brings from Dr. Heylin, was to divide and distract the learned Members of our Church; and, in all appearance, he has too successfully compassed it. I am, sir, your most humble servant,

W. N.

30. TO DR. HICKES.

HONOURED SIR,

SEPT. 11, 1697.

I HAD returned my thanks sooner for your kind acceptance of the second part of my book, if your letter had not told me that you were then leaving the town: nor did I know how to direct to you *, till, the other night, I received your last, of Aug. 20th, from Carlisle. I am sorry that any thing should

* Dr. Hickes had not at this period any settled residence. Having been deprived, at the Revolution, of the deanery of Worcester; he drew up a claim of right to it in 1691, on its being given to Dr. Talbot, which he affixed over the great entrance into the Choir, and sent to every member of the church. But this Manifesto (as it was called) drew on him the resentment of Government; and he was under the necessity of absconding, till, in 1699, the lord chancellor Somers, from a regard to his great abilities, obtained an act of council for a *Noli prosequi*. Meantime he had been consecrated, among the Nonjurors, suffragan bishop of Thetford. For many years he was grievously tormented with the stone, and died Dec. 15, 1715, in his 74th year. He was a man of universal learning; but more particularly skillful in the old Northern languages, and in Antiquities.

escape

escape my pen which bears hard on any friend of yours ; and especially on a person of that character which you are pleased to give Dr. Lowth. I confess I have always had a very great honour for the present Bishop of Worcester, and a good esteem for Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation. I thought your friend's censures on them both somewhat more than ordinary untoward and perverse ; and I gave my opinion of him freely, without any sort of caution or reserve. His adversaries, to be sure, are not the less respected by me in their present posts ; and I can readily own that, if he had been in the same, I should have used him more tenderly : but I can also justly say, I had no little aims or designs to flatter them. If I had intended to caress that *party of men*, as the Doctor calls them, I had penned some other parts of my book in another strain than that wherein they now appear. I must be mistaken in many of the notions I have of men and things : it is impossible for one to be otherwise, that lives obscurely and without conversation and correspondence at home, and who, for thirteen years last, has not been on the South side of York. I have this day written to the Doctor himself ; and, if he removes the scruples which stick with me, I shall as readily give him all possible satisfaction as he can demand it.

I am glad to hear that we may shortly expect a new edition of your Northern Grammars. I had lately a hint given me of it from Oxford ; and that Mr. Wanley had made some discoveries of the analogy between the Greek and Gothic alphabets, which you would think worth communicating. I hope he will do the Runic that justice as to make it elder than

than either of them. I have not had leisure to consider (not so much as to look upon) the Scotch Inscription *, since the day I sent it you. As soon as I have finished the third part of my Library (wherein I shall be in no great danger of giving any unacceptable characters) I think of sorting all my papers about the kingdom of Northumberland, and to crave your perusal of them together. I am, sir,

Your most obliged servant,

W. N.

31. TO DR. HICKES.

HONOURED SIR,

OCT. 21, 1697.

EVER since the receipt of yours, I have been in daily expectation of hearing from Dr. Lowth. At last I had, yesterday, a short and peevish letter from him; and such as, in my poor opinion, does not answer the character you have given me of him. He so wholly mistakes what I wrote to him, that I care not for engaging with him any farther. He resolves (he says) to *make the publick, no private person, judge* of what he has to say in his own defence: and I shall not desire him to alter his purpose, nor attempt the bringing him out of his beloved road. I do however assure you, sir, that, if he satisfies the scruples I am under, I will do him justice, in whatever manner he thinks fit to treat me.

* See before, pp. 62, 63.

There are very few Saxon remains in this Province. The only Charter that I have met with, which may seem to be any way serviceable to your design about the Normanno-Saxonic dialect, is a short one of Ranulph Bishop of Durham in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. It is amongst other antient Records that are now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of that Church.

I suppose there may be some grants from our Kings that are still preserved in the Tower. From thence, I suppose, Mr. Somner had that of the 42d of Henry III. which he has published in his Dictionary at the word *Unnan*. I have sometimes wondered that this Charter is neither observed by Mr. Petit nor (his answerer) Dr. Brady. I wish you would give me your thoughts of it: whether you do not think it is a good argument for the election of Commoners to sit in Parliament before the 49th of that King.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

32. TO MR. HARRIS.

SIR,

OCT. 28, 1697.

I AM glad to find by yours that there is like to be no more war between you and Dr. Robinson*: and I could wish it might be my good fortune to see London, now that it enjoys so many of the blessings of peace. I long for an opportunity of

* Dr. Tancred Robinson has several papers on Natural History in the Philosophical Transactions.

learning more by an hour's conversation with our friend * in Gresham College and yourself, than I can hope for in a year's correspondence by letters: but (as it is now near fourteen years since I crossed the Trent, so) I cannot foresee when my circumstances will allow me to be thus happy. I am this day putting up some of the products of this country for the Doctor *; whose ingenious labours I shall always endeavour to promote, as far as my poor abilities will reach. I still think (with submission) that I am right in my notion of his good services, in having *improved the imperfect hints of foreigners*, &c. He himself owns, p. 89, that the antient Jews and Gentiles had a tradition of some such dissolution as he speaks of at the Deluge; and it is manifest that both Steno and Scilla (even by the account that you give of them) had some faint glimmerings of that light we now have from him. Neither of them, indeed, thought of the whole mass of the Earth's body being dissolved; but, as far as their discoveries reached, so far they conjectured (though they knew not *how*) the effects of the Deluge had gone.

Mr. Wotton is undoubtedly (and has been from his childhood) a very extraordinary person; and I am not a little pleased to find that you have a good esteem for him. It may be, the two gentlemen of your Society (who did him the honour to write notes on his abstract) added the word *specifick*, and whatever else is capable of being interpreted as injurious to Dr. Woodward. I would not rashly censure them: but you have so far discovered their goodwill, if I am not mistaken in the men, that such a

* Dr. Woodward: of whom see p. 69.

jealousy cannot be wholly groundless. Be that matter as it will, I must hope to see you two friends; since, I am sure, the common cause will suffer by your differences. I am, sir, yours, &c. W. N.

33. TO DR. WOODWARD.

OCT. 28, 1697.

P. 33. You seem to assert that the *Entrochus* and *Asteria* (as well as the *Bufo*nites, &c.) are parts of Sea-Animals. I much rather think they ought to have been reckoned among the Mineral Nodules in your fourth part: for (to omit other arguments that might be alledged) their composition and matter is wholly different from the beds of clay, marle, or sand, wherein they are commonly found; whereas that of formed stones, cast in marine moulds, is always the same.

P. 54. I know not what you mean by denying that there is any such thing as a *variation of the elevation of the pole*.

P. 80. When you discover what *agent within the earth* was the cause of your universal disruption of the *strata*, you will remove one of Mr. Whiston's chief objections against your hypothesis, *that it is miraculous in all its parts*; especially when you have also acquainted us (as you promise to do, p. 107) *what was the immediate instrument whereby the stone and other solid matter of the antediluvian Earth was dissolved*. Clear these two difficulties; and I cannot see what can shake your theory.

P. 120. The water which springs and rivers *ordinarily* refund is the same; and, therefore, your speaking of them so discriminately as you do [neither *the one* nor the *other*] sounds a little too harsh.

P. 165. Most of the Fish, you say, perished in the confusion that was made at the Deluge. How could any live?

P. 172. Your mentioning of a *Selenites* that has the shape and appearance of a diamond, puts me in mind of what both you and Mr. Lhwyd have told me; that you have met with a sort of an opaque *Selenite* among the stones I sent from hence. I wish you would explain that matter a little farther to me; for, I can assure you, I have kept nothing at home that, I think, ought to be called by any such name.

P. 188. Our Miners (in this county) will not believe that there can be any *entire strata of Lead*: that metal running, they say, always in veins or strings; saving only that sometimes (like so much extravasated blood in one of our bodies) a little of it may chance to fall off, from these veins, into a *belly* or *float*.

P. 207. If you want any historical account of the extraordinary violence of the fulminating damps (discharging themselves out of the shafts, &c.) I can furnish you with one or two remarkable ones, which happened a few years ago in my neighbourhood; and have, in all their circumstances, been very well attested.

P. 232. You say, the *Marine bodies* are now *most commonly found upon hills and the higher grounds*. I could never yet find any loose formed stones on the tops of our mountains, nor near them.

Camden,

Camden, indeed, says, they are common on the hills about Richmond in Yorkshire: but I have in vain looked for them there, and as fruitlessly employed others to do it for me.

P. 235. You omit one cause of the decrement and lowering of mountains, as considerable as that of the *deteration* you mention; which is, the undermining of the rocky *strata* by the springs, bearing out the inferior supporters of earth and gravel: whence, on the tops of some of our highest hills, we have so much confusion (so many crushed planks and broken ribs) as we now meet with.

Pp. 174, 175. From the vegetable remains of the old earth you conclude that the Deluge commenced in May. Mr. Whiston (you know) is your adversary in this particular: but he seems to be a stranger to most of those observations whereon your opinion is grounded. Mr. Harris is certainly right in the challenge he gives to Mr. Ray; since the majority of our commentators on the Old Testament are undeniably on your side. But what shall we say to some of those very vegetables you refer to? I know not how we shall account for the Nuts and Acorns that are found in our Mosses; if you will believe them to have been entombed there at the Deluge. They never come to such perfection here, as that wherein we find them, in the month of May. Besides, several sorts of Fern and other Capillary Plants (which are supposed to carry the same age) are not vernal; few of them being full grown so early in the year. I confess, on the slate I had from you, I find impressions that appear rather to resemble the *Chamæcistus*, *Serpyllum*, and some other alpine products, that are mostly perennial:
and,

and, on some which I now send you from hence, you will (I fancy) observe pretty fair resemblances of the fine Coralline Moss (or *Musculus Marinus tenui capillo*, J. B.) which grows plentifully on our shores. Perhaps some more of those, that hitherto have been thought to come from the mountains, are of the like original with these; and even they that were reputed to be of the fern-kind may be some species of the *Pori reticulati*. The Marine plants seem to be most naturally disposed for a continuance of so many ages; and many of them wanting roots, and being also very brittle, they will be freed from the incumbrance of Mr. Ray's chief objection.

W. N.

34. TO MR. GIBSON.

DEAR SIR,

NOV. 20, 1697.

YOU have had a deal of trouble in bartering for me with Mr. Swall *. He is so very slack in the per-

* “ Mr. Swall was once a Rising-Sun in trade; but his Sun is set in a cloud, and he is now (1705) reckoned amongst the unfortunate. He was owner of a great deal of wit and learning; and perhaps, had he not known it, had still been as thriving as ever. He was much admired for all his Projects (especially that of Dupin; and even the first blossoms of his youth produced all that could be expected from a ripening manhood. While he was but a prentice in Cornhill, he could outwit most other Booksellers; and when he traded for himself, he could find none to surpass him; but himself alone:

But here, John Dunton, is thy skill confin'd,
Thou canst not paint his nobler Soul and Mind.
No pen the praise he merits can indite;
Himself to represent, himself must write.”

Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 299.

formance

formance of every particular, that I have reason to think he is almost as weary of printing my scrolls as I am of writing them. For my own share, I am sufficiently assured that any of our little curates in the dales make a much better employment, in framing bills and bonds, than I do in serving the publick (as we call it) at this rate. All I get is the being pelted by those that are disobliged: and some such there must be if I write truth. I am severely threatened by a certain gentleman, who (it seems) is Doctor of Divinity *, and, every way, a greater man than I thought him to be. It is said I have used him scurvily and *unjustly*; and that I ought to make him *public satisfaction*. This is the opinion of a latent friend of yours and mine. I have sent my scruples to the party grieved, and desired his answer: promising to give him all reasonable satisfaction (and as public as he pleases) as soon as I am *convinced* of my error. This, he says, he despairs of doing: and, therefore, I have notice that I must look for a reply (such as *I shall be loth to see*) in print. Till that is ready, I have sent you the epistle inclosed, in answer to my friend Worm's charge from Oxford. If you think it worth publishing, I could wish it were sent abroad in the Philosophical Transactions; being most likely to come to his hand that way. I rely on your kindness in correcting what is faulty in it. I am not much accustomed to write Latin letters; and it is forty to one but I have blundered in this. But I dare trust all my failings and imperfections in your hands; being very entirely yours,

W. N.

* Dr. Simon Lowth, see p. 74.

35. TO MR. WOTTON.

DEAR SIR,

DEC. 4, 1697.

I GUESS you will no longer commend my punctual answering of your letters. It is, indeed, a great while since I received your last; though I cannot say it has laid so long by me. For three weeks past I have been in continual attendance on our Chapter affairs at Carlisle, which has thrown me behind-hand with the most of my friends: but I am now making all the haste I can to strike off those arrears. I am mighty glad to hear that you have thoughts of writing a supplement to your book; which will bring in the few heads you have hitherto omitted. I know not what you will reckon a due *calling upon you* for these additions: but if a general approbation of what you have already published may pass for such a call (as it certainly ought to do), you are *called* upon already. I never saw any other edition of Stow's Survey than what I quote in the first part of my book. Mr. Chiswell promised a new one, with large additions. How he came to alter his purpose I cannot tell. Are you sure you have seen that work in folio? or was it not rather his Chronicle?

I see it is a difficult matter to adjust the controversy between Dr. Robinson and Dr. Woodward, or their adherents. Surely, sir, if Dr. Woodward shall prove to you (as I am pretty confident he will) that the *whole mass* of the Earth's body was dissolved at the Deluge; and shall also fully discover what was the *instrument whereby the stone and other solid matter of the antediluvian Earth was so dissolved*; as
likewise,

likewise, what was the *agent that caused the disruption of the strata after their subsidence*; you will allow that he has formed a complete hypothesis out of the imperfect hints of Foreigners. But even this will not content the Doctor's champion. I confess, to my apprehension, Steno has sufficiently asserted the spontaneous falling down of the strata, in the very same manner as the Doctor explains it, by perpendicular and horizontal fissures; and Scilla (by Mr. Harris's own account of his book) discourses of subsidence according to the various gravity of the several bodies, though, perhaps, he wanted learning to hit upon the word *specifick*. But neither of these ever so much as dreamed of a dissolution so total as the Doctor supposes; which is, indeed, the main of his theory, and what cannot be justly said to be borrowed. In good truth, a *piratical rover* is a mischievous and unsufferable creature in the commonwealth of letters; and I take his proper definition to be—one that wickedly attempts to defraud his neighbour adventurer either of the advantage or glory of any new discovery. I must honestly declare to you, that the Doctor has so far removed my scruples, that I am verily persuaded his larger work will effectually make good all that he promises the world in that short system which he has already published. These are my present sentiments, which possibly may change upon the appearance of that *Mathematical Examination* which you speak of. You will easily pardon this open freedom in,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

36. TO DR. WOODWARD.

SIR,

DEC. 4, 1697.

AS for Mr. Edwards's Remarks on Mr. Whiston's Theory, I take the book to be a declamation, rather than a solid reply to any thing the theorist has advanced. It is impossible that any man in a grave mood should give such inconsistent characters of the same person. Sometimes he is all panegyrick: and then the gentleman is a "learned theorist," p. 3; "an ingenious author," pp. 4, 10, 19; "one who has a great share of reason and sense," p. 5; a man "of parts and worth," p. 8; a "sagacious and excellent writer," pp. 16, 30. Now, nothing but a fit of rhetoric could ever carry a body into the other extreme with the very same writer; and represent his hypothesis and arguments as "weak and shallow," p. 2; "prodigiously absurd," p. 5; "harsh and incongruous," p. 6; "openly and plainly confronting the sacred writers," p. 7; "strange and wild notions," p. 13; "unaccountable fancies," p. 15; "unworthy of a person that bears an ecclesiastical badge, and intolerable," p. 16; "irrational and senseless, rash and incongruous," p. 17; "idle and injudicious;" p. 22: "betraying a great narrowness of soul and meanness of spirit," p. 23. And, to pass by some more low flights, "fantastical," "childish," "sneaking," "unreasonable," "unphilosophical," and "unscriptural," p. 29. One would be apt to suspect by this, that Mr. Edwards himself were a little liable to another sort of a charge that he has against Mr. Whiston of being guilty of "clashing and jarring with himself," pp. 24, 27.

But

But all this should be overlooked if there were indeed any thing at all considerable in his Remarks. Mr. Whiston had told him that his "whole book" was an exposition of his hypothesis; and therefore, none should pretend to censure his Introduction, who had not thoroughly read and considered what follows. If Mr. Edwards had done this, he would hardly have taken an author to task (as he does pp. 4, 5) for never considering texts which he professedly expounds: he would not (p. 15) have made such a stir with "the Evening and Morning," as if Mr. Whiston had not observed such an expression, p. 22. He notably proves the Earth to be the "main and principal" part of the Universe, from the first verse of Genesis; which had been much more to his purpose if it had run thus:—"in the beginning God created the Earth and the Heavens," p. 26; and (p. 5 of his Epist. Ded.) he magnifies the Second Chapter of his Book of Providence; which is only a verbose harangue against the Copernican hypothesis; and such as has (in all its parts, except perhaps that quaint comparison of it with the doctrine of Transubstantiation) been forty times answered. His anonymous friend, whom he answers in the Postscript to these Remarks, was kind in his objections; and yet even those are greater than he is well able to deal with. It is a mighty misfortune that all you new Theorists should fall so foul one upon another, for receding from the Mosaic System. Mr. Whiston will no more allow that there can be any reconciliation betwixt Moses and you in the matter of the Deluge, than you will grant that he is orthodox in that of the Creation: and yet both of you agree that (in your several provinces) the

the old vulgar exposition is not to be stood to. For my own part, I am verily persuaded that your hypothesis does not suffer by any objections he has raised against it; and I also think that what your friend says against his theory is as inconsiderable. He quarrels with your principles for being too scanty, and accounting only for some "few phænomena." We ought, methinks, to be very thankful to the man that clears any one dark truth; and a single discovery of value should atone for a multitude of little errors. You will pardon all this freedom: in letters to my friends, I usually write what comes next to hand; and I always think it is more allowable (in these scribbles) to censure abundantly, than to flatter a little.

I am usually pretty punctual in answering my friends' letters; especially when I gain so much by any of them as I did by your last. These three last weeks I have been in attendance on some affairs of the Diocese and our Chapter at Carlisle; and business is my apology. I do now heartily and gratefully own that the answers you have favoured me with are sufficiently satisfactory; and I shall impatiently wait for those further Remarks you promise me about the "Vegetables found in the Earth," and your opinion concerning the "season of the year" wherein the Deluge happened. Yet I would not press you to any new trouble; if your larger work be in that forwardness that I hope it is. Did I promise you my thoughts of Mr. Whiston's theory? Surely I never did fancy myself master of so much mathematicks as to pretend to censure that whole work. But as for Mr. Edwards, &c.

W. N.

37. TO DR. WOODWARD.

SIR,

DEC. 6, 1697.

WITHIN a few hours after I had dispatched my letter to you by Saturday's post, I received the second part of your very kind and instructing answers to my late objections; for which I think myself obliged immediately to return my thanks. There are some particulars wherein you require a fuller and more explanatory account than I formerly gave you; and I shall do the best I can to give you satisfaction in them; though (before-hand) I must tell you that my head does not stand right towards Discourses on Natural History at this time of the year. It is at present very much taken up with old musty Records and Law-books; and you will not allow any of these to come amongst the remains of your antediluvian earth.

If that Moss-wood which I sent you be Beech, it affords altogether as good an argument on the behalf of your hypothesis, as if it were Fir. There is very little or no Beech that grows on this side of Trent: not any, I am pretty sure, in the County of Westmorland; and yet it was out of the great moss at Briggsteer, within two miles of Kendal, that I picked what you had from me. I confess I supposed my whole cargo had been the spoils of the Fir; as I am certain most of it is. The chief reasons that prevailed with me to think these trees to be of the *Yew-leaved* kind, or *conis sursum spectantibus*, was, because the grain of the wood, upon comparing them, exactly agreed with this; but did not seem to do so with the Scotch Pine: as, also, be-
cause

cause it did not appear to carry so much resin or pitch in its veins as the common *Picea* usually does, but answered tolerably well, as I thought, in proportion to that of the former sort. I dare not take it upon me that these observations were so nice as they should have been: but this I can say, that they were repeated, and as critical and exact as I could make them. You know Julius Cæsar, in the place you quote, affirms that Britain wants Beech as well as Fir; and with equal truth. The North-west counties of Scotland are, to this day, plentifully stocked with the one, as the Mid-land parts of England are with the other. There is no stress to be laid on his authority. Indeed your own discoveries, of other truly foreign vegetables being buried in this Island, are of more weight, and unanswerably convincing.

There is one thing in your last letter which looks new to me. It is your asserting, in the conclusion, that the *Coralline Lithophyta* of the antients were dissolved at the Deluge, for the same reason that the minerals were; being, indeed, of mineral nature and origin. Do you reckon all the several species of our Coralline Moss under this tribe? I assure you, I always thought the composition of these creatures to be (ὀσσεώδη τινι) somewhat of a shelly substance; and as little subject to any kind of natural dissolution as the firmest armour of an Oyster or Cockle. Hereupon I boldly concluded that in the slaty mass, whereof I lately sent you several samples, I had happily found a rich treasure of true and genuine Sea-Coralline; which had been deposited there ever since the universal Deluge, till the very day I raised it. It is, in good earnest, no small

small disappointment to me to find that I was wholly mistaken, and in the dark; for that, in truth, all these bodies perished and were dissolved. Let me tell you, sir, this is a terribly discouraging blow to such a pert freshman in these enquiries, as I am. If you will not suffer those draughts to represent what I thought, pray tell me what I must think of them hereafter.

I forgot to acquaint you, in my last, that my neighbour Robinson has given me a letter from himself to Mr. Harris; which, he says, he designed to have printed when he was in London: but that his namesake, and I cannot blame him for it, dissuaded him. After some sharp reflections upon the Young Man's advice to his Senior, he declares that the additional Remarks were printed without his order, consent, or knowledge; and that they never had his approbation: "being, in my opinion, not only too severe upon Dr. Woodward and Mr. Whiston, but also malicious. I do also declare that when my papers were sent to Dr. Woodward, I had no intention to make them public, &c.: and how they came to be called for so rudely out of his hand, I cannot give any positive account." He is also pleased to do me right at large. The paper he has left with me, all of his own writing, as a lasting testimony of his innocence and mine in the whole matter.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

38. TO MR. WOTTON.

DEAR SIR,

JAN. 13, 1697-8.

I RECEIVED, in the beginning of last week, Dr. Arbuthnot's * book by the post, franked by a Mem-

* This was Dr. John Arbuthnot, a celebrated wit and physician in Queen Anne's reign, who was the son of an Episcopal clergyman of Scotland, nearly allied to the noble family of that name. He had his education in the University of Aberdeen, where he took the degree of M.D. The Revolution deprived the father of his Church preferment; and though he was possessed of a small paternal estate, yet necessity obliged the son to seek his fortune abroad. He came to London, and at first, as it is said, for his support taught the mathematics. About this time, Dr. Woodward's "Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth" was published, which contained such an account of the universal Deluge, as Dr. Arbuthnot thought inconsistent with truth; he therefore drew up a work, intituled, "An Examination of Dr. Woodward's account of the Deluge, &c. with a Comparison between Steno's philosophy and the Doctor's, in the Case of Marine Bodies dug up out of the Earth, &c. 1695," 8vo; which gave him no small share of literary fame. His extensive learning, and facetious and agreeable conversation, introduced him by degrees into practice; and he became eminent in his profession. Being at Epsom, when prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill, he was called in to his assistance. His advice was successful, and his Highness recovering employed him always afterwards as his Physician. In consequence of this, upon the indisposition of Dr. Hannes, he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to Queen Anne 1709, and admitted a Fellow of the College, as he had been some years of the Royal Society. His gentle manners, polite learning, and excellent talents, entitled him to an intimate correspondence and friendship with the celebrated wits of his time, Pope, Swift, Gay, and Parnell, whom he met as a member of the *Scriblerus* Club. The Queen's death, and the disasters which fell upon his friends on that occasion, deeply affected the Doctor's spirits; and, to divert his melancholy, he paid a visit to his brother, a banker at Paris. His stay there, however, was but very short: he returned to

ber of Parliament, to whom I am altogether a stranger. I easily concluded the present came from you; which, with its bringing somewhat of your own composure along with it, made it the more welcome and valuable. The Doctor's chief objections are what, to my knowledge, Dr. Woodward has had already; though, perhaps, he sets them off with to London, and, having lost his former residence at St. James's, took a house in Dover-street. His close application to the study of physick gave him competency, and his success introduced him to the notice of the polite world. He continued to practise physic with good reputation, and diverted his leisure hours in writing papers of wit and humour. In 1727, he published "Tables of ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures," in 4to. He contributed in 1732 towards detecting and punishing the scandalous frauds and abuses that had been carried on, under the specious name of "The Charitable Corporation." The same year he published his "Essay concerning the Nature of Aliments, the Choice of them, &c." which was followed the year after by the "Effects of Air on Human Bodies." He was apparently led to the subjects of these treatises by the consideration of his own case; an asthma, which, gradually increasing with his years, became shortly after desperate and incurable. The learning and skill of this great man drew forth the applause of all his contemporaries; even Pope, with all his spleen and envy, could not withhold his tribute of applause: he used frequently to say of him, that of all the men he had met with or heard of, Dr. Arbuthnot had the most prolific wit, and that in this quality Swift only held the second place. It is not improbable that Pope might have had a secret gratification in lowering the estimation of a rival author, in a point in which, with very strong pretensions, he laid claim to pre-eminence. In 1704 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and was soon after sworn physician to Queen Anne. His skill in the discharge of this trust having been the means of recovering her Majesty from a dangerous illness, drew from his friend Gay the following elegant pastoral compliment:

"While thus we stood as in a stound,
And wet with tears, like dew, the ground,
Full soon by bonfire, and by bell,
We learn't our liege was passing well.

H

A skilful

more of gaiety and advantage, as being a Mathematician, and skilled in Hydrostaticks. I know Dr. Woodward is able to give a satisfactory answer (at least to my poor apprehension) to most of them; and I hope he will as effectually reply to the rest. We may believe this opponent has mustered up all that can be said against the Essay; that his arguments are pushed home with all the vigour that art, and acquaintance in these studies, can give them;

A skilful Leech (so God him speed)
 They say had wrought this blessed deed,
 This Leech *Arbuthnot* was yclept;
 Who many a night not once had slept,
 But watch'd our gracious Sov'reign still:
 For who could rest when she was ill?
 Oh! may'st thou henceforth sweetly sleep!
 Sheer, swains, oh! sheer your softest sheep
 To swell his couch; for well I ween,
 He saved the Realm, who saved the Queen."

In conjunction with Pope, he had some share in the unsuccessful Comedy of "Three Hours after Marriage;" a piece that, with such a combination of wit and talents to bring it forth, seems not to have had strength enough for representation, nor to have since been thought worthy a revisal. In 1734 he retired to Hampstead; and his health appears to have been much on the decline; for at the close of a letter in answer to Mr. Pope's enquiries after him, he says, "A recovery in my case, and at my age, is impossible. The kindest wishes of my friends is an Euthanasia. Living or dying I shall be yours." He died in February 1735, at his house in Cork-street, Burlington-gardens, but at what age is not clearly ascertained. He was, as far as from circumstances we are enabled to conjecture, upwards of 70. The wit and humour of this amiable character, though equal, if not superior, to that of any of his contemporaries, was not less distinguished by its strict conformity to the moral duties. As a mark of his easy and negligent temper, it is said that he was accustomed to minute down every occurrence of any consequence in a paper-book that usually lay in his parlour; and that he would suffer his children to tear out leaves at one end of it for their paper-kites, while he was writing at the other.

and

and that therefore the whole controversy is at last settled upon an issue. Your friend protests that he is "not in the least disposed to cavil;" and, to give him his due, the main of his discourse is void of petulancy and reflection. I question not but his antagonist will reply in the same strain: unless he shall rather think fit to hasten out his "larger work," and to stop the mouths of all gainsayers at once. I presume Mr. Harris will look upon your letter as a call upon him to prove his "Exceptions." But I hope he will give his Principal leave to appear before him; and when Dr. Woodward shall have removed all the difficulties wherewith Dr. Arbuthnot has clogged the doctrine of relative gravity, there will be little left for him to do: since, as far as I can guess, his quarrel with you is chiefly about the word "specific."

You may be assured I should wish my friend at Lambeth * had leisure to correct the sheets of my third part, as they are printed off: but it is what I cannot hope for. I shall send him this, as I did the last, to be disposed of as he pleases. In the mean time I shall give you a list of my chapters; and must beg your acquainting me, with what convenient speed you can, if you think there is any proper head omitted; or if you know of any author of note on any of these subjects which you may believe has never fallen in my way.

Dr. Lowth (for that is his character, and unfortunately I knew it not) is not to be pacified by any answer that I have hitherto been able to give to his angry letters. He tells me, he is now resolved to "make the publick judge of his case;" and I have

* Mr. Edmund Gibson; see p. 107.

left him to pursue his own beloved methods of doing himself right. I may possibly be instructed and reclaimed by the strength of his arguments: but I dare foretell that the English tongue will never have any great improvements by what he shall publish.

Yours, &c. W. N.

39. TO DR. WOODWARD.

SIR,

JAN. 13, 1697-8.

I ASSURE you I was very far from designing either to affront or perplex you when I sent you my thoughts on Mr. Edward's Remarks. I thought you had desired them; and I had also this farther end in the matter; I intended, thereby, to convince you how improper judges we Divines are of matters purely philosophical; and so the better to excuse myself from offering my own remarks upon the same author. You seem not rightly to apprehend what I mean by the "vulgar exposition of Moses," when you desire to be informed "wherein you recede from that?" By that expression I mean the common interpreters and commentators; who, doubtless, never explained the story of the Deluge as you do. They all believed the very (numerically) same mountains, hills, and valleys, to remain after the waters were abated, as they were before the breaking up of the fountains of the deep; they never dreamt of the dissolution of the rocks, the eradicating of all manner of plants, &c. I do not dispute whether you and Mr. Whiston understand
and

and explain Moses better than these men ever did: but this I must needs affirm, that you both “recede” from their (vulgarly received) expositions. When you make out to us, from indisputable observations and matters of fact, that the history of Nature is as you describe it, it is certain we ought to understand Moses as you do; and we must discard the common herd of “vulgar expositors.”

I hope I now write intelligibly enough. If I do not, I must again repeat it—“we Parsons are not fit to talk of these matters.” W. N.

40. TO MR. TANNER.

DEAR SIR,

JAN. 22, 1697-8.

IT is now more than high time to return my thanks for your kind remarks on the second part of my book. I had done it sooner, if your letter had not encouraged me to hope for another very speedily to the same purpose. The winter has been untowardly cold: so that I could not apply to the finishing of my third, so heartily as I intended. However, it will not, I think, be much later in its appearance abroad than those of the two former years: and, therefore, I must request your hastening of what else you have in store for me. I send you a list of my chapters in this now before me; that you may let me know if any proper head be omitted, or if you have met with such authors (on any of these) as you believe are wholly strangers to me. I am pretty sure there cannot be many that

that are so, after the searches and discoveries made by Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Selden, and Sir William Dugdale; and these I am tolerably well versed in.

I have this day sent Mr. Waugh an Epistle of mine to Mr. Worm; which (if he thinks it will bear it) I have desired him to offer to Mr. Provost, and the other Curators of the press, that it may be published with his "Aras." It was much longer; but I have shortened it into what I thought was enough on such a subject, and for such an adversary. I have treated him with more civility than his pertness deserved. If the paper be judged worth the printing, there are a few Islandic words in it which I must request your care of at the press.

When your leisure will permit, I shall hope for some farther account of St. Oswin's Life, in the library at Corpus Christi. If the monk of Tintmouth that wrote it lived any thing near his Saint's days, there may probably be some valuable notices in it: but commonly those gentlemen borrowed their little stock of true history from Bede; and their legendary superstructures have rarely any thing in them worth the heeding.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

41. TO MR. LHWYD.

DEAR SIR,

JAN. 31, 1697-8.

YOU will have, about the same time with this, a specimen of my late discoveries, which I promised a week sooner than it was sent. I was forced to keep it longer than I thought on; and, perhaps, you will think it was not worth sending so far at last. There seems to me to be great variety of Marine remains in the mass; and, amongst the rest, I cannot be persuaded but there are some fair samples of the white and red Coralline Moss. Dr. Woodward, to whom I sent some of it, will by no means allow of this fancy. He says, the outward crust of the true natural Coralline is of the same kind of substance with marble and limestone; and, therefore, his hypothesis having dissolved all these at the Deluge, he cannot admit that the other was able to ride it out. I would not offer any thing that might shake the foundations of so fairly promising and hopeful a structure as the Doctor's appears to be. I am clearly for encouraging the ingenious inventors of all new systems, and giving them leave to enjoy the honour, as well as inward satisfaction, of all their pretty opinions. The world is extremely malicious, as well as inconstant; so that neither the Empires of Monarchs nor Philosophers can last for ever. You and I need not trouble ourselves, nor run any hazards, in opposing them in their youth and vigour, whatever we may tacitly think of their principles. This Earth of ours was pretty quiet till
Coper-

Copernicus gave it a whirl; and it has never rested since. Tycho's improvements upon that discoverer have had their time; and so have Cartesius's *Vortices*. These last are now displaced by Mr. Newton's gravity; and that, as the author confesses, has its infirmities. Our late refiners upon the Creation and the Deluge are unanimously agreed, that the old interpreters of Moses were all blockheads: and which of them will furnish us with a more rational and lasting exposition, time must show. Whether Dr. Burnet's roasted egg, Dr. Woodward's hasty pudding, or Mr. Whiston's snuff of a Comet, will carry the day, I cannot foresee. Dr. Arbuthnot has well observed, that a successful theory must be built upon many nice enquiries, and not forwardly advanced on the encouragement of a few likely phænomena. To this purpose I shall be ever ready to assist any master-builders by bringing in clay and mortar; and that is all I can pretend to. When Dr. Woodward told me that he could not, for the reasons mentioned, be of my opinion, that there was any such thing as Sea Coralline in this mass, I desired to know what then he would have me to call it: but he has not yet been pleased to gratify me. Possibly I was too presuming in asking questions of a person who has given us notice to wait for the solution of all our scruples in his larger work. He has kindly let me see that a great many of the objections I offered against his theory, were already answered in his Essay, if I had observed it right; and the rest, I must expect, will be as effectually answered hereafter. I suppose you are under no such reserve; and therefore, pray, what is your opinion in the matter? Here seems to be a mighty
jumble

jumble of sea bodies, without the ceremony of taking their places according to the rules of specific gravity. The bank wherein they are found (at Stainton near Penrith) is twenty miles from the sea. You will find, amongst the rest, some of the *Star Entrochi* which you prized so highly; and several resemblances of shells which I cannot fellow with any that I have yet found on our shores.

I am, &c.

W. N.

P. S. My letter to Wormius is sent to Oxford.

42. TO MR. THWAITES*.

SIR,

MARCH 11, 1697-8.

I THANK you for the picture of good Mr. Junius, which I am glad to see prepared for the uses

* Edward Thwaites was born in 1677; admitted of Queen's College, Oxford, Sept. 14, 1689; B. A. 1694; M. A. and Fellow of the College 1697; in which year he published an edition of "Dionysii Orbis Descriptio," 8vo; and in 1698 "Heptateuchus, Lib. Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonicè; cum Historiæ Judith Fragmento, Dano-Saxonicè; Oxon. Typis Junianis," 8vo. In 1708 Mr. Thwaites was elected by the University Reader in Moral Philosophy, and the next year appointed Regius Professor of Greek. His last work, intituled "Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hickesiano Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesauro excerpta," appeared at Oxford, in 8vo, 1711, on the 12th of December; in which year he died, and was buried in the curious old Norman church of Iffley, about two miles from Oxford; where a small black slab upon the altar-floor marks the spot of his interment, with this inscription: "Here lyeth the body of Edward Thwaites, Fellow of Queen's College, who died Dec. 12th, aged 44 years, 1711." For some further interesting particulars of Mr. Thwaites see the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer."

you

you mention*. Were it fit to give judgment of the performances of such masterly hands as Van Dyk's and Mr. Burghers's, yet I am no ways able to do it in this case. My acquaintance with that worthy person was very short, and in his last days, when he was near ninety. He came to Oxford only in the latter end of 76, and died in the year following at Windsor. I was indeed frequently with him, during his stay there; but, alas! I can remember little more of him than that he was very kind and communicative, very good, and very old.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

43. TO MR. WOTTON.

DEAR SIR,

MAY 7, 1698.

THIS, I hope, will meet with you in health at London; and I wish it could bring along with it the third and last part of my Library, that it might have the benefit of your perusal before it appears in publick. What I first designed in it is finished after a fashion: but the men of Law here, that have looked it over, are apprehensive that my free meddling in their province will expose me to censure, beyond any thing I have hitherto published. I find

* About this time Mr. Thwaites was busily employed in assisting Dr. Hickes in his Thesaurus; who thus speaks of him in a letter to Dr. Charlet: "I thank you most heartily for your affectionate invitation to Oxford; but Mr. Thwaites's skill, care, and diligence, makes it needless for me to be there." Jan. 5, 1699. And the Doctor's vast obligations are amply acknowledged in his Epistolary Preface.

our

our Common-Law and Records are not to be touched without a peculiar reverence. They are to be shown to the world with the same ceremony that the men of Florence are said to produce their *Litera Pisana*; by torch-light only, and with all the gravity of a religious procession. Be the danger what it will, I am resolved to pursue this voyage: and, if I am shipwrecked, it is no more than the common fate of other Merchant-Adventurers. I am now upon the concluding chapter, about our Coins. Mr. Evelyn has not answered my hopes upon this subject; though there is a great deal of fine and gentleman-like learning in his book. As soon as I have perfected this, I shall send the whole to my worthy friend at Lambeth*, to be disposed of as he shall be advised by more competent judges than the author. This shall be done as shortly as possibly I can. For the present, my thoughts are a little taken up with the preparing of Articles for a Visitation; Speeches to the Clergy and Churchwardens, &c. This is what must be done: the other, I hope, will not be left undone.

* Mr. Edmund Gibson, the learned Editor of the Saxon Chronicle, translator of Camden's Britannia, and author of many other valuable works. He was born in 1668, entered of Queen's college, Oxford 1686; M.A. 1694. His uncle, Dr. Gibson, recommended him early to Abp. Tenison, who made him his Librarian at Lambeth; and in 1700 gave him the rectory of Stysted. He resigned his fellowship at Queen's in 1701, in which year the Archbishop appointed him one of his chaplains; in 1702 created him D.D.; in 1703 presented him to his option of the præcentorship of Chichester; and in 1710 to the archdeaconry of Surrey. In 1715 he obtained the bishoprick of Lincoln; with permission to hold the rectory of Lambeth, the præcentorship of Chichester, and the office of residentiary in that church, *in commendam*, till November 1717. He was translated to London in 1723; and died Sept. 6, 1748.

I am

I am less afraid of the storm you tell me of from the young men of Christ Church. I have not yet seen Mr. Boyle's book; but I can easily foretell what the poor gentleman's fate will be, that engages with two such champions as Dr. Bentley and yourself, in such a field. I dare undertake for Mr. Kennett and Mr. Tanner, as readily as for myself, that we shall all reckon it an honour to be attacked in your company; and shall be thankful for any occasion that may induce a pair of such advocates to plead in our defence. But of all mankind, methinks, Mr. Keil* uses you the most ruggedly. To be angry at your affirming that "Descartes joined Mathematics with his Physics," shows a resolution in the man to stop your mouth whenever you open it: and it is somewhat hazardous approaching a writer of that temper. I shall be glad if these new tumults finish the peace between you and Dr. Woodward; and, I am confident, so will he be too.

My lord of Lincoln's † MSS must not be forgotten in your next.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

* This was, probably, James Keill, M.D. author of several papers in the "Philosophical Transactions."

† Dr. James Gardiner was then Bishop of Lincoln.

44. FROM MR. WILLIAM TAYLOR,
TO MR. SAUNDERS,
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN OXFORD *.

REV. SIR,

NEWBURY, JUNE 7, 1698.

I HAD a letter last week by the direction of the Committee of Ministers and Gentlemen appointed at London for settling a correspondence of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers and Congregations throughout this Kingdom, for the advancement of the interest of Religion and Reformation of Manners, with the articles there agreed upon in order thereunto; and a desire to communicate them speedily to the brethren in these parts, that, if possible, a general meeting may be had this summer in London.

Pursuant thereunto, it is desired that you would not fail to come yourself, and bring with you one prudent person of your congregation chosen for that end, according to the method resolved on at London, to meet several of your brethren and the members of their respective congregations here at Newbury on Wednesday the 22d instant, to consider of the said proposal, which shall be laid before you, and the proper method to attain so desirable an end.

You are desired to be there on Tuesday in the evening, that we may enter on our work on Wednesday morning; resolving, God willing, to spend some time in prayer before we begin.

I am, Sir, your affectionate brother, and servant
in the Lord,

W. T. †

* Carried by mistake to Mr. Saunders, Chaplain of All Souls. W. N.

† That is, *William Taylor*. W. N.

45. TO MR. LHWYD.

DEAR SIR,

OCT. 24, 1698.

IT is now high time to look towards Montgomery. I wish I had met with any thing in my last Summer's simpling expedition that might be answerable to the agreeable entertainment which your Welsh Mercuries always bring with them. I found all the Plants, for which Mr. Lawson sends a man into the Isle of Walney, on the coast, before I came at it. The weather hindered me from taking the pains there that I intended; but, if it had not, I saw nothing but a shore much more barren (in all appearance) than others in the neighbourhood.

In my return, I met with the most glorious plot of ground for simpling on, that I ever saw. It is Medipp Wood; which shuts into the sands over against Milthorp, just on the joining of the Counties of Lancashire and Westmorland. I give you this particular description of it, that if it be your fortune to come into the North (when I am dead) you may know where to apply with best success. I found all the rarities of the country; particularly our Sea-Oulers (*Aria Theophrasti*) in far greater plenty than in any of the places mentioned by Mr. Ray. Pray is this on your Welsh coasts? It is strange to me that you should want any of our Alpine Plants. If we live till next Summer, and you be at Oxford, I shall send you dried samples of all my choicest ware. I have not yet met with any thing that looks like your *Capillus Veneris*. I thank you for it.

I do

I do not take the Saxon character to have been invented by that people. Far from it. If they brought any sort of writing into this Island (which I hardly think they did) it must have been of the Runic kind. The Germans did not, that we know of, use that character: but our English-Saxons were a sort of Borderers betwixt that country and Denmark. I have seen (in the Libraries at Mersburg, Leipsic, &c.) great store of Latin Bibles in the very same letter which we call Saxon. I do believe it was what was usually written for the Italian, or Roman, all Europe over; and we might as well have printed our Anglo-Saxon Remains in the common character, as others have done with Willeram's "Francic Paraphrase" and Otfrid's "Evangelical History." In the beginning of the new edition of Dr. Hickes's "Septentrional Grammars" you will have a scheme of the variety of the characters in those MSS that he has had occasion to peruse.

I am glad to hear of the forwardness of your Lithoph. Brit. I expect one of the copies: and, within a few weeks after the receipt of it, I dare promise you my third and last part of my Library.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

46. TO MR. THWAITES.

SIR,

[1698.]

LAST week Burnyeat brought me your letter and two books: for all which I very heartily thank you. I wish the Pentateuch were more entire. I suppose
you

you look upon Ælfrie as the sole translator of all that you publish here. In his Epistle to Æthelwerd he says he was only desired to translate to *lraace Abpahamer runa* (which I take to be chap. xxv. v. 19. about half the book of Genesis); and in the conclusion he seems to resolve against meddling with any other parts of the Bible: yet, in his *Treatise de Vet. Testamento* he affirms that he not only translated the whole Pentateuch, but also Joshua, Judges, &c. In the account he gives of his Esther he has this remarkable expression, that he translated it on *ure piran sceoptlice*. He has indeed taken leave to abridge the text in many places. Thus, Gen. xxv. 8, he thinks it is enough to say *He died in a good age*, without enlarging in those other synonymous phrases of that verse, &c. I wish you had given us the Vulgar Latin with it. It looks indeed more masterly and more becoming an University edition, to have a book sent abroad that supposes it shall meet with plenty of readers that shall understand it as readily as the publisher does: but perhaps it would sell as well if it had brought along with it a help towards its interpretation. The world is not yet so well stocked with men skilled in our Saxon language and antiquities as we may hope to see it.

I have a Latin MS. of Nicodemus's Gospel (on vellum) which wants your introductory title, on *pæpe halgan*, &c. But, instead of that, after *xxv^o mensis Martii*, follows *Consulatu Ruffini et Leonis Anno cccc^o iiii^o i^o Olympiadis. sub Principibus Sacerdotum Judeorum Joseph et Caiapha. et sicut post crucem et passionem D'ni historiatus est Nicodemus acta à Principibus Sacerdotum et reliquis.*
Et

Et mandavit ipse Nicodemus literis Hebraicis.

There are many other differences in the body of the Treatise. I wish all the remains we have in the Saxon tongue were published. But, will not you be censured for sending out this Gospel at this time of day? Those ridiculously foolish discourses it affords upon our Saviour's descension into Hell, his resurrection, &c. were proper perhaps for the times wherein it was translated, but may have ill effects now. I can tell you that it has furnished the Botanists with the name of a plant (*Veronica*) which, you must know, is famous for curing those issues of blood from which that happy lady was so miraculously delivered.

I am, Sir, your affectionate servant, W. N.

47. TO MR. LHWYD*.

DEAR SIR,

FEB. 18, 1698-9.

ABOUT two posts after I received your last, I had a letter from Mr. Wotton, who gives me that character of your book which I am well assured it deserves. The usage you have had from the printer is the common fate of all that deal with that sort of cattle†. I thought you would have had some friend to have inspected the press.

* There is a single folio sheet, entitled "Parochial Queries in order to a Geographical Dictionary, a Natural History, &c. of Wales. By the Undertaker, E. L. [Edward Lhuyd.]"

† This, it must be confessed, is not an over-civil phrase, and certainly by much too general.

The honour you have done me and my nephew in ranking us amongst those that much better deserve your acquaintance, is what we are justly sensible of, and I wish it may be in our power duly to acknowledge.

The last part of my English Library will shortly attend you. I sent it, some weeks ago, to Mr. Gibson; and, I suppose, it is now in the press. Mr. Thomas shall have a copy for you, as soon as it can be had: and I hope he will hasten yours this way, since I am in a longing condition till I see it.

I was much pleased to hear of the correspondence which, Dr. Lister tells us, is settled betwixt you and the Abbot of Charmoise; especially since he is so intent upon illustrating the Celtic antiquities. I have a little book, written by G. Ph. Harsdorser, a member of the *Fructiferi Sodalitii*; which was a society of Virtuosi, instituted by Augustus Duke of Brunswick, for the improvement of the German tongue, and the recovery of their prime antiquities. It bears the title of "*Specimen Philologiæ Germanicæ*;" and the author, in a dozen short chapters, or disquisitions as he calls them, has a great many curious remarks about the original of that people, the simplicity of their language, the conformity of that to the Hebrew, the derivation of the Greek from that, and of the Latin from the Greek, &c.; which, I guess, is much of a kind with what your Pere Pezron intends for the honour of his Gauls.

I have lately had an account of a brother Antiquary's ramble into my province of Northumberland; who has put me upon a resolution of simpling
up

up into Rhiddesdale as soon as ever the weather will give leave. He says, that near Rochester in that dale (which he supposes to be contracted from Roman Chester) he met with a gigantic image cut in a rock, with some symbolical characters circumscribed. I have a strong fancy that these same symbols will prove Runic; and that we shall find we have a better stock of those monuments in this Island than we were aware of. In the Scotch notes on the new edition of Camden (which, I presume, were mostly had from Sir Robert Sibbald *) there are

* Sir Robert Sibbald says of himself, "that he first broke the ice in the way of writing the antiquities of his country;" but was in reality anticipated and assisted by Sir Robert Gordon, of Straloch. He illustrated its history in a variety of learned publications from the year 1705 to 1711, on the Roman Geography of his native country; and in his "Commentary on Agricola," he takes in the whole Island, together with Ireland and the adjacent isles, not forgetting Thule. He took an actual survey of the scenes of action described by the Roman historians, and describes the monuments remaining. Mr. Gordon, however, charges him with wresting the genuine sense of Tacitus and other Roman writers, and contradicting the text; carrying people and stations from Scotland to England. By order of Charles II. who appointed him geographer-royal for Scotland, he intended a general description of antient and modern Scotland, intitled "*Albania, sive Scotia antiqua illustrata: libris tribus, quorum primus de insulis Britannicis & de Britannicis & de Britannia in genere. 2dus, de eâ parte Britanniae quæ primo Britannia, postea Scotia dicta fuit, in genere. Tertius, de Albania sive Scotia particulatim.*" The general title was "*Atlas Scoticus,*" of which the Latin part was "*Albania, sive Scotia antiqua & moderna.*" The titles of the several chapters of each of these books, with a plan of the work, are prefixed to his "*Scotia illustrata;*" and queries, whose answers were to be addressed to himself or bookseller, which contains the natural history, to which his principal attention was directed. This Atlas is now in MS folio, in the Advocates' library; where are also collections of papers and informations in order to

these following, which I am confident are all of the same kind : 1. One at St. Ruth's Church in Wachopdale, p. 910 ; 2. Another at Doctan near St. Andrews, p. 951 ; 3. A third near Brechin in Angus, p. 953 ; 4. An Obelisk near Killoss in Murray, p. 955 ; 5. The Earl's Cross and King's Cross in Sutherland, p. 956.

I know not whether you have yet visited Anglesey. Our Chronicles tell us of pretty long stays the Danes made in that Isle. If you meet with any of their remains there, you will let me hear of them. Their inscriptions would be more welcome to me than that Oriental one, whereof (with a cock at the bottom) you formerly sent me a draught ; for I am an utter stranger to the character and design ; knowing no more of them than I do of some Egyptian Hieroglyphicks that were lately handed to me by Mr. Thwaites *.

A few weeks ago I had a large brass ring sent me from Durham ; which (though much younger than the description of Scotland, fol. These were transcribed in three volumes, fol. for the use of Walter Macfarlane, of Macfarlane, Esq. Sir Robert left also in MS. "*Conjectanea quædam de primis Insularum Britannicarum colonis, ex scriptoribus antiquis Græcis & Latinis hausta, de quibus docti judicent.*" His portrait is in the Advocates' Library, and that of Sir Robert Gordon in the Marischal College at Aberdeen. (Gough's British Topography, vol. II. pp. 555 et seqq.)—Sir Robert Sibbald was also an able Naturalist ; and has the following papers in the Philosophical Transactions : "Account of several Shells observed in Scotland," vol. XXII. p. 693 ; "Account of several Stones voided by a Boy," vol. XX. p. 264 ; "Account of some Stones and Plants lately found in Scotland," vol. XXII. 693 ; "Description of the *Pediculum Ceti*," vol. XXV. p. 2314 ; and a letter announcing a second volume of his "*Prodromus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ.*"

* See p. 105.

your

your learned friend's *Torques*) seems to carry a good age, and to have been a sacred charm. It has the name of JESUS oddly repeated on it, in this manner:

ih€ . 2V2 . 2V2 . ih€ . 2V2 . 3V2 . ih€ 3V2 . ih€ . 2V2 . 2V .

I think of continuing my Northumberland progress, soon after Easter, as far as Edinburgh; where I promise myself an agreeable conversation, for some few days, with Sir Robert Sibbald and Mr. Sultherand *. They are, both of them, accomplished Antiquaries, as well as Naturalists. Mr. Sutherland is particularly curious in coins; and has an excellent collection.

I found lately that my Lord Archbishop of York † himself, who is certainly the greatest master of this part of our Antiquities in the kingdom, had placed a coin of William King of Scots amongst those that he took to belong to our Conqueror: so that it is very convenient for us Borderers that meddle in these matters to be as good criticks in distinguishing the properties of each nation as we can be.

* Mr. James Sutherland was overseer of Balfour's Physic-garden, in Edinburgh; and drew up and published the state of it in his "*Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis, or a Catalogue of the Plants in the Physical Garden at Edinburgh; containing their most proper Latin and English Names; with an English Alphabetical Index.* Edinb. 1683. He wrote a *Dissertation on the Stylus*, printed in a half sheet, now scarce. *British Topog.* vol. II. 632.

† Archbishop Sharp has been noticed in p. 47. He had begun a most useful work, of collecting "the Endowments and Benefactions to the Churches and Chapels in his Diocese;" and the valuable MSS. which he possessed on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of York were given by his executors to the library of the Dean and Chapter; for the benefit of the diocese, it is supposed; not for private emolument.—See some observations on this subject in Mr. Gough's *British Topography*, vol. II. p. 421.

In

In Mr. Gibson's Catalogue of my Lord Clarendon's MSS. (p. 18) there is mention made of the book of Hergest (alias the book of Margan) translated out of Welsh, from anno 681 to anno 1332. Have you met with the original of this? It must be a quite different thing from the "Annales Morganenses," published by Dr. Gale,

Yours, &c,

W. N.

48. FROM DR. HICKES.

DEAR SIR,

MARCH 30, 1699.

I RECEIVED your letter, and thank you for noting my omissions in the Version. I believe you are right in your conjecture upon apÿpn, which I believe comes from the old Danish *eynhuorn*, *aliquem*. I am going to Oxford; at my return I will send you a larger and continued specimen of the Cotton Harmony, for I would fain have your opinion of the language; I fancy it to be the *theotise* sort of Saxon spoken in Cædmon's time, and that it is a piece of the true Cædmon. It manifestly hath the other Cædmon's poetical phrases.

Pray give my most humble service to the good Dean, and tell him that ten pounds are paid to Dr. Younger for Mr. Mawburn. I am his and your most obliged humble servant,

G. H.

49. FROM DR. HICKES.

DEAR SIR,

LONDON, APRIL 25, 1699.

YOUR letter of March 30 was sent to me from London to Oxford, which made me delay an answer to it till I returned to London again. As for the Cotton Harmony, though one may reasonably suppose the Saxon in Cædmon's time not to be much altered from the first Teutonic Saxon, yet, upon considering the Gallo-Italic, or rather Franco-Italic, hand of the original, and that the fragment of the undoubted Cædmon in Bede seems not to be the same language with that book, I give it up to be Francic, and the most antient piece yet discovered in the old Teutonic; and, if subscriptions come in accordingly, I will print it in my book. As for Junius's Cædmon, I cannot yet believe it to be of the true Cædmon's composure. First, because the fragment in Bede, which was the beginning of the true Cædmon, is not the same in words, or order of words, with that of Junius's Cædmon; but, being the same in sense, it seems to show that the author of Junius's Cædmon wrote in imitation of the true Cædmon, and was not the true Cædmon himself, no more than the author of the Additament at the end of the book; though it must be confessed that the Additament hath a more recent air, at first sight, than the Paraphrase of Genesis, which makes the first part of the book. Secondly, the Menology, which is written in the same style and dialect, was written in Canute's reign, as seems

to me from one expression at the latter end of it, before you come to the rambling dithyrambicks (I have not now my copy by me to quote the words), which is to this purpose: "Now may you know how to observe the festivals through the whole *British* kingdom of the King of the Saxons;" and I desire to know your opinion if that passage doth not fix the time of the Menologium. Thirdly, the victory of Æthelstan, Chron. Sax. an. 938, and the death of Edgar, an. 975, both written in the same style and dialect, are good arguments that the paraphrase of Genesis ascribed to Cædmon was written about these times, that is to say, in the tenth century. Lastly, there are so many Dano-Saxonic words and phrases in it, that occur in pieces written not long before and a little after the Conquest, in such as are commonly called Semi-Saxonic MSS. that I cannot but think it was written by some Northymbrian (in the Saxon sense of the word) after the Danes had corrupted their language. Among others, o for the Cimbric præposition a, IN occurs in him, which is in general Anglo-Nortmannic books written shortly after the Conquest; as I have shown in the chapter "De dialecto Nortmanno-Saxonicâ, sive Anglo-Nortmannicâ;" which, though when I began it I thought would have afforded but little matter of speculation, yet hath it carried me into large theories; and could I have foreseen whether your proposal of a chapter "De dialecto Dano-Saxonicâ" would have led me, I should never have had courage to have ventured on the work. Whatever is written in the second edition, the world is beholden to you for it; and I doubt not but it would have been much better done, could I have had

had your help and directions, as well as your encouragement.

I pray God to preserve you in health, and remain,
Sir, your most obliged humble servant, G. H.

50. MR. JOHN WALLIS *, TO BP. LLOYD.

FOR THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, DR.
WILLIAM LLOYD, LORD BISHOP OF COVENTRY
AND LITCHFIELD, &c. THE LORD ALMONER AT
WHITEHALL.

OXFORD, MAY 8, 1699.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

LIGHTING lately on a small piece bearing your Lordship's title (published, I presume, by Dr. Bentley) concerning Pythagoras; I there meet with a great deal of good chronological learning: of which I do not pretend to be master.

* This veteran Scholar was born at Ashford in Kent, Nov. 23, 1616; educated first at Ley-green near Tenterden, afterward at Felsted; entered at Emanuel college, Cambridge, 1632; B.A. 1637; M.A. 1640; about which time he took holy orders, and obtained a fellowship at Queen's college; which having vacated in 1643 by marriage, he became chaplain first to Sir Richard Darley, and then to Lady Vere, where he acquired the art of decyphering; he obtained the rectory of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-street, and was one of the secretaries to the Assembly of Divines. He was appointed Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford in 1649; published his celebrated English Grammar in Latin 1653; and became D.D. 1654. After the Restoration he met with great respect; was made King's chaplain; and confirmed in the situation of Savilian professor and keeper of the archives. Being appointed in 1661 one of the Divines to revise the Common Prayer; he became a steady Conformist. He was one of the early members of the Royal Society; whose Transactions he greatly enriched;

I shall only suggest to your lordship's consideration this one question; "Whether Hipparchus (whose death you place at Olymp. 66, 4), be not the same with Abaris (whose first coming into Greece you place at Olymp. 54, 2)?" That it cannot be Hipparchus the famed Astronomer cited by Ptolemy, I am well aware; for he lived some hundreds of years later than that time; but if there were another Hipparchus contemporary with this Abaris (and that other circumstances do agree), it may possibly be the same person; especially if we have the name Abaris from some Arabic author, or from some translation out of Arabic: for, though the names at first view seem very different, yet, by steps, they may be tolerably conciliated; in order to which your Lordship knows well the Arabic (and other Oriental languages) cannot begin a word with a vowel, but must have consonants to sustain their *puncta vocalia*; and, therefore, they must of course prefix *Eliph*, which easily passeth into the sound of *a*, and drowns that of the vowel subjoined to it, and this *i* (in ἱππαρχος) passeth into *a* in Abaris.

Then your Lordship knows also, that the Arabs not having the letter *p* in all their alphabet, do of course substitute *b* instead of it; thence *Ptolemy*, with them, becomes *Botlemy*; and by these two steps ἱππαρχ becomes ἄβαρχ of course,

enriched; and published many useful works, which the University of Oxford did him the honour to collect, and publish all together in the Latin tongue, in three volumes, folio, 1699. He died Oct. 8, 1703, in his 88th year; and was buried in St. Mary's church, Oxford; leaving one son, and two daughters. A volume of Sermons (from his original MSS.) was published in 1791, 8vo. by an immediate descendant, with some New Memoirs of the Author.

And

And then $\chi\omicron\varsigma$, or *chus*, will, as easily pass into *chis*, *his*, or *is*. For the change of the vowel will here break no squares. For of their *puncta vocalia* they do not use to be very solicitous (especially in a formative termination, whose letters are not radical); and the Greek χ doth of course pass into the Arabick *ha* or *cha* (which are originally the same letter, and are so reputed when they pass for numeral, being of the same import with the Hebrew *he*), distinguished only by the diacritic points, the one having two points, the other three adjoined to the same character, according as they would have it sounded *ha* or *hha*, that is *h* or *hh*, with a soft or harder aspiration, both answering to the Hebrew *he*, or English *h*; which aspiration being dropped in the Greek (who have no room for *h* in the middle of a word as we now write it) *chis* or *his* passeth of course into *is*; and *ἱππαρχος* into *ἰσαρίης*.

If this at first view seem somewhat hard, I will endeavour to soften it by a parallel case.

There is an Arabic writer, whom Mr. Selden was wont to cite by the name of Aphthisius (according to the Arabic spelling). This author has been since published (by Mr. Selden's direction) by Dr. Pocock, in Arabic and Latin, under the name of Eutychius; which Dr. Pocock takes to be the true name (and with Mr. Selden's concurrence) only disguised into the Arabick form by these steps: first, ϵ (in $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\iota\varsigma$) passeth into α because of *Eliph* prefixed. Then the subjunctive vowel υ (as it is wont to be called) was wont to be sound hard, as our *v* consonant, or *f*; (whence from $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ we say *Evangelium*; as $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ was wont to be sounded *af-tos*); and thus $\epsilon\upsilon$ (in $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\iota\varsigma$) comes (in Aphthisius)

sius) to be *Af*. Then *ty* or *ty* doth easily pass into *thi*; and *Euty* into *Aphthi*. And then $\chi\iota\omicron$ or *chius* as easily passeth into *sius*, putting the softer sound of σ for χ . And thus *Euty chius* becomes *Aphthisius* in Dr. Pocock's judgment, and with Mr. Selden's approbation; who were competent judges in this point of literature. And, if yet there remain any difficulty, I do refer you to what further evidence Dr. Pocock brings to clear it. Now as $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\iota\omicron$ comes to be $\alpha\phi\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron$, by like steps $\iota\pi\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\omicron$ may become $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$.

But, if this be not yet clear enough, I give this further evidence.

I find in Clavius, and others, mention made of one Abrahis, or Abrachis (for it is written both ways) an antient Astronomer, of whom they know not well what to make, or who it should be. But it is now undoubtedly certain, that this Abrahis is no other than Hipparchus, the famed astronomer cited by Ptolemy and others: which I shall thus make out.

Your Lordship knows there was an age wherein Greek learning and Greek authors were almost lost among the Latins; but were preserved among the Arabians by their Arabic translations out of the Greek, and were brought back into these parts (by means of the Moors in Spain) from these Arabic translations, before the original Greek came to hand.

And hence it is, that of Euclid, Ptolemy, Aristotle, and other Greek authors, our first Latin editions were not immediately from the Greek, but from those Arabic translations. Of which Sir Henry Savile takes notice in his lectures on Euclid, and, after him, Gerard Vossius. And the thing is evident, those old Latin editions being yet extant.

And

And, in particular, the old edition of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (out of the Arabic) is extant in the Bodleian Library, and, I suppose, in many others. And Lambertus's edition of Euclid, out of Arabic, in the Savilian Study and elsewhere. Since which, when the Greek *Almagest* came to light, we have later translations from the Greek.

Which I mention to this purpose; because, in all our editions from the Greek (and in the Greek itself); wheresoever Ptolemy had occasion to cite Hipparchus, which is very often, he is constantly cited by the name Hipparchus; but in the old edition from the Arabic, he is constantly cited (in the same places) by the name Abrahis or Abrachis. And so, no doubt, it was in the Arabick whence this translation was taken. So that it is manifest, beyond dispute, that Ptolemy's Abrahis in Arabick, is the same with the Greek Hipparchus.

Now if Ptolemy's Hipparchus be the same with Abrahis, why may not this other Hipparchus be the same with Abaris? For Abaris and Abrahis are much the same; the transposition of this vowel being no more considerable than in Botlemy for Ptolemy. But if, from circumstances of the story (of which I am not aware) it do appear that this Hipparchus be not the same with Abaris, however the names may be reconcileable, I beg your Lordship's pardon for giving you this disturbance: for two men may be different, though their name be never so much the same; as Ptolemy's Hipparchus and the Hipparchus here in question; or Ptolemy's Abrahis and this Abaris in question: and am, my Lord, your Lordship's very humble servant, JOHN WALLIS.

51. FROM MR. THORESBY.

REV. AND DEAR SIR, LEEDS, JULY 8, 1699.

THE post by which I sent my last to you, returned happily fraught with a very pleasing account of your Scotch tour. I wish Mr. Sutherland would favour us with an account of his cabinet: I dare vie with him as to the seven hundred Roman denarii; but if the five hundred English and three hundred Scotch coins be all different, it is extraordinary. As to MSS. I am sadly at a loss for a little of your skill, and wish you would be so kind as to favour me with a few general rules to judge of their genuine antiquity in your next; for till then I defer a return to the Bishop of Sarum's very kind letter, that came the same post with yours, inclosed in one from the Archbishop, who, I perceive, by Bishop Burnet's compliments, had set me in too favourable a light. The business in short was, that having lately purchased a very noble MS Bible, which I esteem very antient, I collated it with the two I had before and a fourth I borrowed of a neighbouring gentleman, as to that doubted passage in St. John's Epistle concerning "the three that bear record in Heaven," that his Lordship mentions in the first letter to Mr. Boyle. In that folio which by the writing I judge the most antient, is extant both the controverted text itself in the same order as the common version has it, and St. Jerome's prologue to the general Epistles wherein he complains of the Arians, who "*suâ editione et Patris, Verbique et Spiritûs testimonium omittunt, in quo maximè et fides Catholica*

lica roboratur, et Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti una divinitas et substantia comprobatur." In my other folio also the verse is inserted, but with this difference from the vulgar editions, that the passage concerning the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit, in this copy precedes that of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. There seems to have been added some various lection in the margin by a worse as well as more modern hand; but the ink is so mean that it is not legible. My third MS Bible is in quarto; has, as well St. Jerome's complaint against those unfaithful translators who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinity, as the verse itself in its right place; only both this and the first-mentioned want the latter clause "et hii tres unum sunt" in the eighth verse, as it is now divided. The fourth MS (that which I borrowed) is in octavo; has the whole very entire according to the common version, though it wants St. Jerome's preface. I know not whether it be worth the while to take notice, that in the first of these antient MSS the order of the books is different from most I have seen; for after the Evangelists, and the Acts (which usually follow the Epistle to the Hebrews), are placed the seven general Epistles of St. James, Peter, John, Jude; and then follow St. Paul's Epistles, addressed particularly to the Churches at Rome, Corinth, &c. and amongst them one *ad Laodicensis*, betwixt those to the Colossians and Thessalonians.

The last post brought me another very kind letter from the Archbishop, with one inclosed from Bishop Burnet to his Grace, together with an Essay of the memorable Mrs. Walkier's writing (the blind woman his Lordship gives an account of in one of the

the letters to Mr. Boyle) which he could not find at first, being rebuilding that part of his house where his closet was. The distich, which the Bishop apprehends was of her own composure, is this,

*“ Linea si titubet, Lector, Literæque vacillent,
Nôris quam fallax sit sine luce manus—”*

which is deservedly placed as a choice curiosity in that Collection, to which you have been a noble benefactor in many kinds: as also a remarkable account I lately received from an ingenious gentlewoman of Dublin, who was an eye-witness of several wonderful cures by the famous Irish stroker Mr. Greatrix *, who lodged at her father's house. But, having transcribed it in my last to Mr. Evelyn, you may possibly meet with it hereafter in some of the Transactions; for they have played me that trick so often, that I suspect this (as well as others which they never had my leave for) will appear there. You will see by all this that I continue my old shameless trade of begging, where I hear of duplicate curiosities of any kind, and yet with better success than one would expect, from the old proverb. And, considering the generosity of my old friend, I will hope for the like success in my pursuit after the venerable pot-scars of old Galatum. But I dare not begin another page lest I quite weary you with the impertinencies and boldness of, dear sir, your obliged humble servant,

RALPH THORESBY *.

* Mr. Thoresby's "Account of the Cures done by Mr. Greatrix, the Stroker," is printed in Phil. Trans. vol. XXI. p. 332. To that most valuable collection he was an indefatigable contributor (sometimes, as appears above, even without his consent); not less than thirty-four of his papers being to be found between the volumes XIX and XXXII.—To future Biographers of Mr.

P. S. My friend Mr. Kirk was so kind as to come and tell me, before he had eaten in his own house, that he had dined with you several times, and had the happiness of your converse at the Lord Privy-Seal's *, &c.

52. TO MR. THORESBY.

SIR,

JULY 17, 1699.

I AM glad to find my Lord of Salisbury † and yourself so industrious in asserting the doctrine of the Trinity, by proving the text in St. John's Epistle authentic and canonical. I wish I were able to be (in any measure) assisting to you.

The best rules for distinguishing the date of MSS. are to be had in Father Mabillon's learned treatise "*de Re Diplomaticâ*." If you have that book, you will need

Mr. Thoresby the following references to Ballard's Collections of MS Letters (in the Bodleian Library) may be serviceable.—A Letter of his to Mr. Lhuyd concerning some Roman Coins, v. 250.—He writes to Dr. Charlett to beg autographs, xvii. 17 Increases his MSS. *ibid.* About publishing Vicaria Leodiensis, 18. Furnishes Mr. Gibson with additions and corrections for his second edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 19; and Bp. Nicolson in his *Irish Historical Library*, *ib.* About building a new church at Leeds, 20. Gives an account of a terrible distemper in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, with remarks, 22. Designs sending his son to University College, 23, 24. Notices the Religious Houses in Yorkshire, 25, 42, 82, 83, 91. His *Ducatus*, liii. 214.

* Thomas Osborne, the first Duke of Leeds.

† Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

no other help. My Lord Bishop, in the letter you quote, says, that the Zurich MS. "seems to be about eight hundred years old; being written in the hand that began in Charles the Great's time." I suppose his Lordship means the same character which we (in England) call the Saxon; for in that are most of the antient Latin Bibles which are to be met with in Germany. I believe this came in fashion about the time he mentions; but whether it was invented by the encouragement of that Emperor, or some of our more early Saxon Kings, will admit of a dispute*.

The eldest Francic piece that is now extant is a fragment of Otfrid's Evangelical History; which is thought to have been penned about the time of its author, if not by himself; and he lived within a century of Charles the Great. The characters here are nearly the same with those of our eldest Anglo-Saxon remains. We have a Saxon MS. of the Gospels, which has been long believed to have been Venerable Bede's own book: but, as soon as Dr. Hickes's new edition of the Septentrional Grammars comes abroad, that mistake will vanish.

My Lord of Salisbury (in his third letter) mentions a copy of Ruffinus's Translation of Josephus in the Ambrosian Library, written in the old Roman hand, which, says he, is very hard to be read, though he makes it probable that this was written in the days of Ruffinus himself. And, in the last of those letters, he takes notice of some MSS. (in the Library at Basil) of the "best of the Roman times, writ in great characters." This seems to intimate that the mode of writing (in capitals) used in the days of Augustus, &c. was in Honorius's time laid

* I do not believe it was brought from Ireland. W. N.

aside, and a new kind of alphabet introduced. What that was, I should be glad to learn. That which we call *Saxon* is very little (if at all) elder than the times forementioned; and the black Gothic Roman (as the printers term it) is only an improvement, or corruption, of this. All our present alphabets are varieties made out of these two, and they are originally one and the same. There is a good collection of Latin MS Bibles in the Library at Glasgow. These cannot be strangers to my Lord of Salisbury; unless, perhaps, some of them may have been given since his Lordship left that place. If you desire to have any of them collated, I have acquaintance enough with the present Library-keeper to serve you.

This day se'nnight, in my way to Kendal, I gave a small packet for you to Mr. Cuningham, who promised to send it forthwith. It would bring you some of the old potters' work from Galatum; and the autographa formerly promised.

I am, &c.

W. N.

53. FROM DR. CHARLETT*.

REV. SIR, UNIV. COL. OCT. 25, 1699.

I BEG your pardon for detaining so long the inclosed due to you; that from Mr. Wanley†, the Dean of Christ Church‡, and some others, desired to peruse.

I have had occasion, lately, to remember you with *your* Dean§, and Mr. Grandorge||.

* Arthur Charlett, of Trinity college, Oxford; M.A. 1670; B.D. 1684; Master of University college and D.D. 1692. He died Nov. 18, 1692.

† Humphrey, afterwards the well-known Librarian to the Earl of Oxford; of whom many interesting particulars may be seen in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer."

‡ Dr. Henry Aldrich.

§ William Graham, son of Sir George Graham of Netherby, and younger brother of Richard lord viscount Preston. He was educated at Christ-Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. March 11, 1680, and was diplomated D.D. June 11, 1686: was chaplain in ordinary to the Princess Anne of Denmark: installed in the first prebend at Durham Aug. 16, 1684; collated to the rectory of Whickham, and inducted therein Aug. 10, 1685: installed dean of Carlisle, June 23, 1686, and of Wells, July 28, 1704; died Feb. 5, 1711, and was buried at Kensington.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. II. p. 229, and see Hutchinson's History of Durham, II. 173.

|| John Grandorge, of Edmund Hall, Oxford. M. A. 1693; afterwards fellow of Magdalen college; B.D. 1706; D.D. 1708. Prebendary of Canterbury; and rector of St. Dionis Lime-street. He was also chaplain to the Earl of Thanet; who presented him to the rectory of Hothfield in Kent; when he resigned St. Dionis to Dr. Smith, some time fellow and afterwards provost of Queen's college, Oxford, in exchange for the donative of Upton Gray, Hants. Dr. Grandorge died Jan. 19, 1709.

Mr.

Mr. Usher * has at last printed his case ; and to-morrow is to be a hearing, at the King's Bench †, between the counsel for him and for the Vice-Chancellor.

I presume the Compilers of our Statutes, when they required the Fellows in case of a reprobation to proceed *sine morâ*, and *absque strepitu judiciali*, never thought of appeals to Convocation, or King's Bench.

These troubles allow me leisure only to assure you I am, with great sincerity,

Reverend Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. CHARLETT.

54. TO DR. WAKE.

NOV. 2, 1699.

PASSAGES for which Reg. Southwell is quoted by Stow ; which make it probable (since they mostly relate to Northern affairs) that “*Registrum Suthwel*” was the book intended.

1318. The Scots invading Northumberland ; and making havock at Rippon, Knaresborough, and other places in Yorkshire.

1338. A great flood at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

* “A Letter to a Member of the Convocation of the University of Oxford ; containing the Case of a late Fellow-elect of University-college in that University. Lond. 1699.” Signed C. U. i. e. Charles Usher.—British Topography, vol. II. p. 145.

† In this trial Alfred was said by one side to have founded University college ; and this, which was nothing to the dispute, being allowed by the other party, it is now said to be fixed.

55. TO

55. TO MR. WOOD*.

SIR,

NOV. 4, 1699.

YOUR most obliging letter (of Sept. 20) came not to my hands before Monday last; when it was delivered me by Sir C. M——. I had great reason to be sensible of the risque I ran in venturing to publish any of my private and weak thoughts upon what so nearly related to the profession of

* Thomas Wood, a relation of the Oxford Antiquary; a student at New College, Oxford; a barrister of Gray's Inn; and LL.D.; but, taking holy orders, he was presented to the rectory of Hardwick, Bucks; and was appointed commissary and official of that archdeaconry. The profession was indebted to him for, 1. "A new Institute of the Imperial or Civil Law, with Notes; shewing in some principal Cases, amongst other Observations, how the Canon Law, the Laws of England, and the Laws and Customs of other Nations, differ from it. In four books; 1712. 2. "An Institute of the Laws of England; or, the Laws of England, in their natural Order, according to common Use. Published for the Direction of young Beginners, or Students in the Law; and of others that desire to have a general Knowledge in our Common and Statute Laws, 1720;" 8vo; reprinted in folio, 1722, with additions, and again in 1724, with a good portrait of the author. He was the author also of an anonymous pamphlet, intituled, "An Appendix to the Life of Bishop Seth Ward;" severely censuring the innocent pleasantries of Dr. Walter Pope, in his Life of Dr. Ward; and for the liberties he had taken with his cousin Anthony Wood. But, if people will be oddities, what law is there against laughing at them? It is with more justice, perhaps, that he blames Dr. Pope for dwelling too much upon *minutiæ*. In the Preface to Sir William Blackstone's "Commentaries," the "Institutes" of Dr. Wood are deservedly commended by that learned and revered Judge, his successor in the same line, and a thorough judge of its merits; who styles the author one of those who have "laboured" to reduce our Laws to a system. See Noble's Continuation of Granger, vol. II. p. 136; vol. III. p. 127.

the

the Law; and I have as just cause to be thankful to any such ingenious gentleman of the robe as yourself, that will take the pains to direct me in so unknown a road. We are all so fond of our own offspring, that you will pardon me if I offer at some excuse for two or three of the mistakes you have observed in my book.

The “*Registrum Cancell.*” and some other tracts, are not mentioned where you (and perhaps most reasonably) would have them, because they are accounted for elsewhere; and I have always scrupulously avoided repetitions. This must be likewise pleaded in excuse for another omission, which is the first observed in my sixth Chapter, *viz.* that of Lyndwood’s Provincial; which is pretty largely discoursed on in the second part of my work.

If Coke and Bacon, p. 137, be misrepresented, I have this to say for myself; that the place referred to (Lib. 4, Instit. cap. 75) seems sufficiently to prove the former’s sentiments to have been what I make them; and I have a MS speech (which is said to be one of Bacon’s) that speaks the same language.

I cannot agree with Sir W. D. that the *Mirroure* was written before the Conquest, any farther than (as I have said) that some of the materials were fetched from Saxon records; since there is not a chapter in it (hardly a section) but what carries abundant proofs of a later date.

The sentence (p. 185) on Sir Edward Coke’s Reports, for it is the condemnation of his *work*, and not of his *person*, which I speak of, was, as I take it, very *authoritative*; and I should think it as *terrible* as what, in our time, has been executed on others in the Palace-yard.

Where

Where I affirm, p. 10, that Proclamations are *binding*, &c. I talk as most of you learned men do, that have lately written on the State of England; and give me leave to say, that the expression was once agreeable to Law, and is still to good manners; both canonical and civil obedience (in my poor opinion) being to be paid to our superiors, *in licitis et honestis*, where neither time nor other circumstances will admit of a formally legal injunction.

Civil lawyers (instead of *Common*, p. 213) is not the Printer's mistake, being put in opposition to *Ecclesiastical*; and considering what a mixture there was (at the time there mentioned) of *Civil Law*, strictly so called, with *Common*, I thought the word as proper as any I could use.

The Statute of *Art. Cleri* is placed before that of *Circumspectè agatis* (p. 191) by chance; though, being more truly an Act of Parliament than the other, which is rather a writ, it has something of a plausible title to the precedence.

I do not say (p. 214) that Inventories were not given in upon the Probates of Wills; but I mention them chiefly in the case of Administrations, because there they are the only helps that our Registers will afford an Historian.

These, Sir, are some of the mistakes which you have very kindly observed to me; and which, I think, may admit of some tolerable apology: but nothing can be pleaded, but ignorance, in excuse of the rest. You have my hearty acknowledgments of the obliging favour you have done me, in giving me notice of them; and (if I live to publish a second edition of my three little books in one entire volume,

volume, as I hope to do) you shall see the omissions supplied, and errors corrected.

To invite you to a review and second censure, allow me to acquaint you with two mistakes that seem to have escaped you.

P. 64, Sir *Edward* is put for Sir *Robert Atkins*; and, p. 87, of Dr. Zouch's three Treatises there mentioned, not the two first, or either of them, but the third, is printed with Mocket's "*Politia*."

56. FROM MR. EVELYN*.

WORTHY SIR, DOVER STREET, NOV. 10, 1699.

HAD not some uncommon accidents interrupted (which of late, and indeed, till now, have given me

* John Evelyn, esq. the great ornament of his family, and indeed of his country, was born at Wotton in Surrey, Oct. 31, 1620. He was educated at the School at Lewes under the care of his grandmother Stansfield, where he acknowledges, in his own Memoirs, that he was too much indulged, and did not make so good use of his time as he ought to have done; for this, however, he made ample amends by his future diligence. In April 1637 he was entered of the Middle Temple, though then at School, and in the following month was admitted a Fellow Commoner of Baliol college, Oxford, of which Dr. Parkhurst was Master. He was placed under the tuition of Mr. Bradshaw (marked by him as *nomen invisum*!) son of the rector of Ockham, a relation of the Regicide. Whilst he was at college Nathaniel Canopus came thither, being sent into England by the famous patriarch Cyril. He was the first who introduced coffee, not before heard of here, nor made a common entertainment till many years after, sack and tobacco being before the common liquor and drug. From hence he removed, about three years after, to the Middle Temple. In 1641 he went into Holland, and was admitted a volunteer in the company of Captain Apsley commanding some English troops there. In the end of that year,

or

so little leisure to converse with books, and such as oblige the publick with good ones) I should not have or in 1642, he returned to England, went to the King at Brentford, where he rode a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop; but the King going to Gloucester, and leaving Surrey quite open to the Parliament's forces, and his being in arms not being known, he obtained the King's licence to travel, and in that year set out to make the tour of Europe, and did not return till 1651. He went first to Holland and Flanders, and then to France and Italy, and has left a large and minute account of all that he found worthy of observation in his travels; and nothing seems to have escaped him. At Padua he purchased the rare Tables of Veins and Nerves of Dr. John Athelsteinus Leonænas; and caused him to prepare a third, of the Lungs, Liver, and Nervi sextipar with the gastric veins, which he sent into England, being the first that had been seen here, and which he afterwards presented to the Royal Society. At Paris, in 1647, he married Mary the daughter and at length heir of Sir Richard Brown, then the King's Ambassador in France. By this match he became possessed of Sayes Court, in Deptford, in Kent, at that time a retirement perfectly suited to his studious and contemplative mind, though, from subsequent alterations and the great influx of public and private business, it would be now little adapted to the habits of a studious man. In 1662, when the Royal Society was established, he was appointed one of the first Fellows and Council. He was a constant attendant, and was a considerable benefactor to it; as, besides his various communications, he gave them the curious Tables of Veins, &c. mentioned above, and procured of the Lord Henry Howard the Arundel Library for the Society. Of the same nobleman, whose grandfather, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had been the collector of these curiosities, he likewise obtained the Arundel Marbles for the University of Oxford, who thereupon presented him with the degree of LL.D. in 1660. In 1664, on the breaking out of the Dutch war, he was appointed a Commissioner for the care of the Sick and Wounded. On the erection of a Board of Trade, he was named one of the Members. On the accession of James II. he was made, in December 1685, one of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord Privy Seal, in the absence of Henry Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but held it only till March 1686. After the Revolution, he had the place of Treasurer of Greenwich

been so long in acknowledging the obligation I have to the learned Archdeacon of Carlisle; not only for those former pieces of yours, but especially your late excellent and useful third part of the English Historical Library; for which, and for your mentioning me therein with a tenderness and civility so instructive and obliging (not usually to be met with among other writers upon the same advantage), I most heartily return you my thanks, and humbly stand corrected. I am, in truth, ashamed of my dabbling; the confidence and vanity of my rash adventure concerning Coins and Medals*; for which you have been so kind and generous as to make the best apology for me I am capable of. It was my great unhappiness, that being most of that time in the Country (or involved in an irksome affair in the City) I had so little communication with such knowing persons as, like yourself, I find (though now too late) delight to oblige and encourage the weakest

Greenwich Hospital. Having succeeded his brother George in the Wotton estate, he made that the place of his future residence, and died there Feb. 27, 1705-6, in the 86th year of his age. Of his numerous publications, amounting to no less than twenty-six, a full account is given in Aubrey, vol. IV. p. 119, &c. in the Biographia Britannica, and in Dr. Hunter's new Edition of the most celebrated of them, his "Silva," published in 1776. This gentleman, an eminent physician at York, has made this book still more valuable, by adding to it the observations of later writers. He has prefixed to it a portrait of Mr. Evelyn, drawn and engraved by the celebrated Bartolozzi in his best manner. His last work, "A Discourse of Sallets," was printed in 1699, and dedicated to Lord Chancellor Somers. He likewise etched at Paris, 1649, five views of places which he had drawn on the spot between Rome and Naples, with a frontispiece. Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. II. p. 152.

* The "Treatise of Medals," which is highly spoken of, was published in 1697, when he was 77 years of age.

attempts;

attempts; among whom I might have relied on his Grace my Lord Archbishop of York, the worthy Mr. Thoresby, and some others, who, casting in their symbols, had given it that real value which it so extremely wants, and you so charitably point out to me. In the mean time, what my ignorance, negligence, or both, have detracted from the dignity of the subject, the world will find so abundantly supplied by your accurate and learned account, as, in some sort, to be obliged to my errors. But, besides all this, by what a noble and universal undertaking do you promote that so useful knowledge, which with such success and learned industry you recommend! namely, the study of our own Municipal Laws and Home Antiquities; the most becoming an Englishman and a lover of his country; skilfully derived from the fountain, and traced through all those windings and meanders which render the study generally deserted as dull and impolite, unless by those who, attracted by more sordid considerations, submitted to a fatigue that filled indeed their purses for the noise they made at Westminster, whilst their heads were empty even of that to which they seemed entirely to devote themselves. Methinks, did our Inns-of-Court Students come a little better grounded in Ethics, and with some entrance into the Civil Law, such an History as you are meditating would lead them on with delight, and enable them to discover and penetrate into the grounds of natural justice and human prudence, and furnish them with matter to adorn their pleadings, before they wholly gave themselves up to learn to wrangle, and arts of illaqueation, and not make such haste to precedents, customs, and common-

mon-places, &c. By reading good History, they would come to understand how Governments have been settled by conquests, transplantations, colonies, garrisons, &c. through all vicissitudes and revolutions, from East to West, from the first to the last Monarchy; how Laws have been established, and for what reasons changed and altered; whence our holding by Knight's service and Feudal Laws have been derived, whether from Saxon or Norman.

It is a pity young gentlemen should meet with so little of this in the course of their academic studies; at least if it continue as in my time, when they were brought up to dispute on dry questions which nauseate generous spirits, and to discourse of things before they are furnished with mediums, and so return home rather with the learning of a Benedictine Monk (full of school-cant) than with such profitable knowledge as would enable them to a dexterity in solving cases, how intricate soever, by analytics, and so much of algebra as teaches to draw consequences, and detect paralogisms and fallacies, which were the true use of Logick, and of which you give hopes our Universities are now designing. To this I could wish the improvement of a more ornate and graceful manner of speaking and action upon occasion. The fruit of such an education would not only grace and furnish the Bar with excellent Lawyers, but the Nation with able persons, fit for any honourable employment, to serve and speak in Parliament, and in Councils; give us good Magistrates and Justices for references in the country and at home; wise Ambassadors and Orators to send abroad; in a word, qualified Patriots and Pillars of State, in which this age does not, I fear, abound. In the mean while,

while, what preference may be given to our Constitutions, I determine not; but, as I believe Ethics and the Civil Law were the natural mother of all good Laws, so I have been told that the best Lawyers of England were heretofore wont to mingle their studies together with them; but which is at present so rarely cultivated, that those who pass for profound sages and oracles therein, are not only shamefully defective in, but even in the Feudal and our own. You are speaking, Sir, of Records; but who are they among this crowd (and even of the Coifs) who either study, or vouchsafe to defile their fingers with any dust, save what is yellow? or know any thing of Records, save what upon occasion they lap out of Sir Robert Coke's basin, and some others? The thirst of gain takes up their whole man; like our English Painters, who, greedy of getting present money for their work, seldom arrive to any farther excellency in the art than face-painting; but have no skill in scymmetry, perspective, the principles of design, or dare undertake an history.

Upon all these considerations, I cannot but presage the great advantage your excellent book, and such a work, must produce, when our young gentlemen shall ripen their studies by those sound methods you propose; at least, there will not likely appear such swarms and legions of obstreperous no-lawyers; as yearly emerge out of our London seminaries; *omnium doctorum inductissimum genus* (for the most part), as Erasmus long since styled them.

Concerning the Paper-office, I wish those instruments and state *arcana* had been as faithfully and constantly transmitted to that useful magazine as they ought to have been; but, though Sir Joseph
Williamson

Williamson took pains to have reduced things into some order, so miserably had they been neglected and rifled during the Rebellion, that at the Restoration of King Charles the Second such were the defects, that they were as far to seek for precedents, authentic and original treaties, negotiations, and other momentous transactions, formerly made with foreign states and princes, dispatches and instructions to ambassadors, &c. as if there had never been any correspondence abroad before. How that office stands at present I know not: but this I do, that abundance of those papers and dispatches you mention, and which ought to centre there, have been carried away, both by the Secretaries of State themselves (when either dismissed or dying), and by Ambassadors and other ministers when recalled into the country, and left to their heirs as honourable marks of their ancestor's employment. Of this sort I had formerly divers considerable bundles and transactions of State during the ministry of the great Earl of Leicester; all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, containing divers original letters from that Queen herself; from Mary Queen of Scots; Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Fourth of France; Maximilian, the second Emperor; Duke of Norfolk; James Stewart, Regent of Scotland; Marquis of Montrose; Sir Wm. Throgmorton, Randolph, and Sir Fr. Walsingham (whom you mention); Secretary Cecil; Sir T. Smith; Mr. Barnaby; Sir H. Challenor; Viscount Montague; Sir Joseph Hawkins, Drake, Fenton; Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Edwyn Bishop of London; Bishop Hooper, &c.; from abroad, Tremeline and other Protestant divines; Pasquin Spinnola, Ubaldino, with

with several Italian Princes; and of Ladies, Mary Gray; Cecilia Princess of Sweden; Anne Countess of Oldenburgh; the Duchess of Somerset, and a world more, the names of which I have forgot. But what most of all (and still afflicts me) those letters and papers of the Queen of Scots to the Queen of England, and Earl of Leicester, before and during her imprisonment, which I furnished to Dr. Burnet (now Bishop of Salisbury), some of which being printed in his History of the Reformation; those, and others with them, are pretended to have been lost at the printer's; which has been matter of quarrel between me and his Lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell*; but so as, between them, I have been deprived of my originals, which had now been safe records, as you will find in that History. The rest I have named I sent to his countryman the late Duke of Lauderdale; who, honouring me with his presence in the country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (ancestor of his), of whom I had several letters in my Library (impacketed with many others), desired I would trust him with them for a few days: but it is now more than a few years past, that being put off from time to time until the death of his Grace (when his library was *sub hasta*), my letters and papers could no where be found, or recovered. So as by this treachery my Collection

* "Mr. Richard Chiswell well deserves the title of Metropolitan Bookseller of England, if not of all the world. His name at the bottom of a title-page does sufficiently recommend the book. He has not been known to print either a bad book, or on bad paper. He is admirably well qualified for his business, and knows how to value a copy according to its worth; witness the purchase he has made of Archbishop Tillotson's octavo Sermons."—Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 280.

being

being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend of mine, who is not likely to trust a *S—t* with any thing he values.

But, sir, I quite tire you with complaints, and a rhapsody of impertinences: beg pardon; and remain, worthy sir, Your most humble and greatly obliged servant, **EVELYN.**

P. S. Among the foul Errata of “*Numismata* *” (but of which I immediately gave account in the Philosophical Transactions) the following was thus to have been read: P. 22, l. 3, *mixt* as well as *obrizd sort* (in margin); for such a medal is mentioned by Aldus (of Valentinian) with CONOB. which he reads *Constantinopoli Obrizatum*, belonging to Count Landes: vide Ald. Manut. Notat Explanat. p. 802. Venet. c10.c10.xii. and p. 51, l. 9, r. *Etiminius*. Spanheim, indeed, is suspicious of this medal; but I was unwilling to degrade our metropolis of the honour. P. 202, Mary r. Regulbium; with innumerable more.

57. FOR THE REV. MR. COCKBURN,
VICAR OF BRAMPTON.

SIR,

FEB. 13, 1699-1700.

HEARING that some are entering into *Societies for the suppressing of Immorality and Profaneness* in or about Brampton; I thought it convenient to let you know that yesterday my Lord Bishop was pleased to acquaint Mr. Chancellor and me, that he did not approve of such combinations. His Lord-

* “Mr. Evelyn’s ‘*Numismata*,’ carried him no further than those larger and more choice pieces that are usually called Medals; whereon he has treated with that accuracy and fullness which became a gentleman and a scholar.” W. N.

ship's name is set (amongst many others) to a book which countenanceth these proceedings; but, as that authority was procured by surprize, my Lord is now persuaded that the methods proposed in that book are not so good and commendable as the end.

The Reformation of Manners is a most Christian duty; and we are under an indispensable obligation to endeavour it, according to the King's late excellent Proclamation, by the most effectual means allowed and prescribed in law. I fear these Societies are not legal ways of procedure. I am confident you will be of my mind, when you have carefully perused the Twelfth Canon. The censure there denounced is a terrible one; and wise men will beware of doing any thing that does so much as looke like the Anabaptistical error which is there condemned.

I am, sir, your affectionate brother, W. N.

58. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY LORD,

FEB. 15, 1699-1700.

IT is by command that I give your Grace this trouble, at a time when your thoughts are taken up with matters of the greatest concern in Church and State; and, I am well assured, your Grace will likewise think what I am ordered to lay before you is of no small weight.

* On Monday last our good Bishop was pleased to call his Chancellor and me to attend him at Rose Castle. Amongst other things he acquainted us that he had been informed that the Chancellor (without his Lordship's privity) had engaged in a Society, with some Dissenters as well as Churchmen, for the

* "This account transcribed *verbatim*, to W. P." W. N.

suppressing

suppressing of Immorality and Profaneness, in pursuance (as was pretended) of the King's late Proclamation. Mr. Chancellor owned the report to be true; and reckoned about eight persons (one whereof is the most violent Independent in the Diocese, and others notoriously disaffected to our Ecclesiastical discipline) who had entered into an engagement with himself for that purpose. He said, they were encouraged to do it by finding his Lordship's name amongst the approvers of a book recommending these Societies; and that (he thought) the articles they had subscribed were such as were legal and commendable; obliging them to reform their own families, to inspect the conversation of their neighbours, to reprove the vicious, to inform against the obstinate, and, lastly, to have weekly meetings to consult how most effectually to carry on so good a work. My Lord was pleased to let him know that he was surprised (by Dr. Bray's pressing him to a sudden answer of his letter, assuring him that it was what all the Bishops above highly countenanced) into the approbation given to that book in his name; but that, upon perusal of the book itself, he found great reason to condemn the practices therein extolled; that they appeared to him to fly in the face of the Twelfth Canon; and that Mr. Chancellor's own case seemed to be too much within the reach of the Seventy-third. His Lordship required me to give likewise my opinion of the matter. I could not but concur with my Lord in the plain meaning and interpretation of the Canons: and, I added, that I thought these Societies were Conventicles, and unlawful assemblies in the voice of the Statute Law, till their Meeting-houses were licensed; and

that (even then) though they might be within the privileges of the Act of Toleration, they were without the pale of the Established Church. Mr. Chancellor replied, that he could not think himself, nor his associates, in any hazard from the Statutes or Canons; that, notwithstanding his Lordship's thinking fit to retract his first sentiments, he well knew that others would continue their encouragement; and that therefore neither he (nor, as he believed, any of the rest that had subscribed with him) would be frightened from going on in the good work they had undertaken *.

This, my Lord, is the sum of what passed amongst us on this subject; and it is my Lord's command that I should give your Grace this account of the bare matter of fact; not doubting but your Grace will provide such remedies as may best prevent the spreading of so dangerous a schism in your Province, as these courses are too like to occasion. I am only to add the most humble respects of his Lordship, to which your Grace will give me leave to subjoin the like dutiful ones of,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

59. TO THE BISHOP OF CHESTER†.

MY LORD,

FEB. 15, 1699-1700.

THE present indisposition that our good Bishop is under (by a fit of the gout) has occasioned my

* "He has already found himself, in some measure, mistaken: for two of the company, upon intimation of my Lord's thoughts, have deserted." W. N.

† Dr. Nicholas Stratford, of whom hereafter.

giving

giving your Lordship this trouble ; being commanded to give his Lordship's very hearty respects, and to let you know that, on Monday last, Mr. Jackson was convened before him, and presently acknowledged the forgery he had committed in counterfeiting a letter (in your Lordship's name) to the Master of Pembroke Hall. He seemed to be truly penitent, and abundantly sensible of the nature and villany of his fault. However, my Lord was pleased to decree him suspended *ab officio* ; declaring his resolution to proceed to a yet farther censure, unless he should speedily make his peace with your Lordship, and procure your pardon.

We had, my Lord, at the same time, the consideration of a new Society (lately erected at Carlisle without my Lord's privity) for the suppressing of immorality and profaneness ; in observance, as is pretended, of the King's late excellent proclamation to that purpose. The rules submitted to by the subscribers in that association are such as seem to be condemned by the Twelfth Canon of 1603 ; and run in the like model with that of the last Society mentioned in a book (p. 15 of the 8vo edition) which shelters itself under the great names of a large list of Lords Spiritual and Temporal ; and, amongst the rest, those of the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester. The former, we have been assured, was procured by surprize : and my Lord declares to us that he can by no means approve of some of the confederacies therein mentioned ; and that he particularly condemns that which has been (as aforesaid) copied by a medley of Churchmen and Dissenters in his own Diocese. I have, by his Lordship's order, given his Grace of York a more full account of this matter

matter by this day's post. I supposed this hint of it might not be unacceptable to your Lordship.

I am, &c. W. N.

60. TO MR. HOLME.

DEAR SIR,

FEB. 15, 1669-1700.

THOUGH I pestered you with a couple of pretty long letters by the last post, I cannot give you (nor myself) any ease till I have finished my account of the grand cause of our new-erected Society. Take it in the very words wherein I have this day given it (by my Lord's order) to his Grace the Archbishop of York.

On Monday last, &c. as in p. 146.

Thus far to my Lord of York. You see that there is a strange confidence in the little man, that he shall be supported by some persons of more might than his Diocesan. It is not difficult to guess from what hand he looks for the main of his strength. There is indeed a great Lord's name which (now in the 8vo edition of the book) appears the second in the list of the Lords Temporal: but it is hoped his authority was procured in the like manner with that of the Bishop. The Established Clergy generally believe that worthy Lord to be on their side; and you may ever assure him that he cannot want those amongst them, who (if relied on) will serve his interests as faithfully and effectually as this renegado, and his whole new fanatical brotherhood

hood are able to do. Mr. Gilpin is one of the subscribers; and he vouches their Covenant to be lawful. He will hardly dare to give that opinion under his hand. The two deserters are Mr. Tong and Lieutenant Melvin. The latter was first scared by the Captain of the Dragoons declining to make one of the number: and now he is so much ashamed of the fact, that he takes it ill to have it said that he was once one of the fraternity; though Mr. Chancellor himself reckoned him to me, and so did others that had seen the list. They will all (in time) be ashamed of the thing.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

61. TO MR. GREGORY.

SIR,

FEB. 16, 1699.

YOU may probably have heard of a Society, League, or Covenant, at Carlisle; wherein the Churchmen and Dissenters are mutually engaged for the Reformation of Manners. We certainly are all obliged to prosecute the good ends of his Majesty's late proclamation, in our several stations: but give me leave to tell you, that our zeal for the service of Religion ought to be regulated by the Laws of the Land, and Canons of the Church. We must beware of making ourselves parties in Conventicles and unlawful assemblies, by meeting in numbers (above five, besides our own families) on a religious account, unless we can secure ourselves of the benefit

fit of the Act of Toleration ; and (then) we are Dissenters, and not members of the Established Church. If we desire to continue in our present Communion, we ought well to consider the words and meaning of the Twelfth Canon.

Finding that new projects are on foot, I thought fit to give you (as well as others) this short hint of my sentiments ; to be communicated, if you like them, as you have occasion, either from yourself or, sir, yours, &c. W. N.

62. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY LORD,

FEB. 26, 1699-1700.

SINCE I gave your Grace the history of the Society at Carlisle, I find that there is another erected (at Brampton in Gilsland, about seven miles from Carlisle) by some Clergymen and others, who were encouraged in the undertaking by Mr. Chancellor's example and authority. Besides the articles of the former, they have a new one ; which obliges the three Vicars (for that is the number) to take their turns with the Minister of a Dissenting Congregation at a weekly lecture. I think they are prevailed on (for the present) to desist ; till we can have directions from your Grace : which, I humbly desire, may be as speedily sent us as the weight of this affair will allow. Our own good Bishop's great age and infirmities render him incapable of acting in it with that briskness which the case requires ; so that
we

we must (of necessity) have recourse to your Grace. What instructions are thought proper for us will be most conveniently directed either to my cousin Pearson at Bolton, or (my good neighbour) Mr. Wickins at Kirkbythore; who will readily enough, and safely, convey them to, my Lord,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

63. TO MR. WOTTON.

DEAR SIR,

FEB. 26, 1699-1700.

ON Saturday last I received a printed paper (which I find is dispersed every where) bearing the title of "A Letter from a Minister, &c. giving an Account of the Societies in Bedford and Buckingham-shires." I am very much troubled at the perusal of it, as foreseeing the ruin which such Societies (if not discountenanced) must speedily bring on the Established Church. You can best tell me what exposition the subscribers to those articles put upon the Twelfth Canon? If we compare the history of the Anabaptists with the proceedings of our times, we cannot but be sensible that our errors are truly (what the Canon calls them) Anabaptistical; and (then) we ought to be somewhat afraid of incurring so heavy a censure as is there denounced. Holy Leagues, and National Covenants (to which ours will grow up in time) have occasioned so much bloodshed in this and the neighbouring kingdoms, that I tremble at the prospect: especially since I see with what haste we are approaching to our own destruction.

destruction. The Chancellor of this Diocese (who is also a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church) has formed a couple of Societies of a medley of Churchmen and Dissenters; and, of the latter kind, the most violent opposers of our Ecclesiastical discipline that are in the country. This has given so general a distaste to the Established Clergy, that he has (in truth) effectually lost his own authority. I heartily wish that the like attempts may be as successful elsewhere as hitherto they are here; and that (after we have been so happily and wonderfully rescued from Popery) our own divisions may not throw us back into that miserable state wherein his present Majesty found us, or a worse. The Reformation of Manners is a very desirable blessing; and I wish to God every body would seriously prosecute the good ends of the late proclamation, in such methods as the Laws of the Land and Canons of the Church will allow: but these new ways and means of reforming will, I doubt, prove as deficient as some of the late Parliamentary Funds have done. I wish our disappointments from them be not of the more dangerous consequence of the two. Separate Societies and *Councils of Reformation* have always been reckoned necessary implements towards the subverting of an Establishment; and so we find them insisted on in the "Jesuits' Memorial," &c. But why any of the members of our Church should seek for such bye-paths I cannot imagine; unless it be that they think of raising their own fortunes by these uncommon methods, after the more ordinary means of gratifying their ambition have failed them.

Yours, &c.

W. N.*

* "The same mostly (the same day) to Dr. Prideaux, Mr. Ellison, and Mr. Burscough." W. N.

64. FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

REV. SIR,

FEB. 27, 1699-1700.

I HAD the favour of yours, which that I did not answer sooner you must impute to the many affairs of sundry kinds (some of them small enough, but unavoidable) which do here take up our time.

It is a nice case you write about; and I dare not take upon me to give any directions in it.

I myself have always been averse to such sort of confederacies, or combinations, whether of Clergy or others, as are now on foot every where; whether they be those they call Religious Societies, or those of a later standing which go under the name of Societies for Reformation, as doubting whether they be legal in themselves (though, with submission, I think it may bear a dispute whether they come under those Conventicles that are forbid in the Twelfth and Seventy-third Canons), and apprehending, likewise, that some time or other we may feel ill consequences from them. And for these reasons I refused my subscription the last year to that book which was writ for the recommending these Societies; though I was earnestly, by letters from two of the Bishops, pressed to join my hand with theirs.

But, though these be my private sentiments, I find many of the Bishops of another mind. Some of them look upon these Societies for Reformation to be of mighty use. And, considering how remiss the Magistrates generally are in executing the laws against Profaneness and Immorality, they think there is no other way to retrieve that zeal for Religion, which is every where lost among us, and to promote

promote a Reformation of Manners, but by such a joint endeavour of well-disposed persons ; and accordingly they do what they can to promote those Societies in their respective Dioceses. Others of the Bishops go not so far, but content themselves to endeavour the regulating and keeping them within bounds, where they are voluntarily entered into.

The truth is, the Societies of London have been so industrious in spreading their books, and the success they have had (as they say) in this way has made such a noise every where, that the whole Nation almost hath taken the alarm. And so eagerly, in many places, are the minds of people set upon these new methods, that it may justly be doubted whether it be in the Bishop's power to stifle or suppress these Societies, though he should use his utmost endeavours to do it.

Add to this, that many of the Clergy take encouragement to enter into these Societies from a passage of my Lord of Canterbury's *Circular Letter, which was sent the last year to the Bishops of his province, though it is certain in that passage he did not intend the setting up such formal associations under rules and articles, as are now formed in many places. The passage is in the fourth paragraph of the letter, where he says, "it were to be wished that the Clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings to consult for the good of Religion, &c. And these meetings might still be made a greater advantage to the Clergy, in carrying on the Reformation of Men's Lives and Manners, by inviting the Churchwardens of their several parishes, and other pious persons among the Laity,

* Dr. Tenison.

to join with them in the execution of the most probable methods that can be suggested for those good ends. And we may very reasonably expect the happy effects of such a concurrence from the visible success of that noble zeal wherewith so many about the Cities of London and Westminster do promote true piety, &c." I have transcribed thus much out of that printed letter for fear you should not have it by you.

Upon these considerations, I am thus far come into these projects, that I tell my Clergy, when any of them apply to me about this matter (as very lately some of them have done), "that as for their meeting together, as they have convenience of neighbourhood, for the promoting Religion and Reformation in their parishes, it is a thing I would advise them to: but as for the Societies for Reformation that are now on foot in several places, they are new things, and for which there is no foundation in our Laws and Canons, and we do not know what consequences they may in time produce; and, therefore, I dare not be the author or adviser to any one, either Clergyman or Lay-man, to embark in these projects. Nevertheless, being sensible that a great many wise and good men do approve of these Societies, I will not think the worse of any man for engaging in them. Nor shall these Societies meet with any discouragement from me, so long as they keep within the bounds which the laws of the Land, and of the Church, have prescribed."

Letters to this effect I have writ to some of my Clergy who consulted me; but, I must confess, I came not to this degree of compliance but after a great deal of discourse with several of the Bishops.

my

What my Lord Bishop of Carlisle will think fit to do in the present case of the Chancellor, must be left to his own prudence, which I know is very great. I must confess I dare not advise him. Only this I believe I may say, that I think he will have gained a good point, if he can prevail with Mr. Chancellor to quit his Dissenting Associates. And if he be resolved on a Society for Reformation, let only such be taken into it as are really Churchmen.

I beg my hearty services to his Lordship, with abundance of good wishes of his long life and happiness. The same be pleased to accept yourself, from Sir,

Your very affectionate servant, JO. EBOR.

I send you herewith a print which I received out of my Diocese, abundance of them being sent down thither*.

65. TO DR. HICKES.

HONOURED SIR,

FEB. 29, 1699-1700.

I HOPE this will find you at Oxford in good health, which I beseech God long to continue to you.

The draught of the Scotch Monument which I sent to Dr. Charlett was never intended to be published, either in the "Transactions" or any where else, being drawn with far less exactness than another which Mr. Thwaites had from me; and which was indeed designed for your Grammar, if you

* The paper, probably, printed as No LXXXI.

thought

thought it might deserve a place there, without the garniture of Notes, &c. I could not foresee that I should have leisure to write any thing of that kind before your book came abroad, that was fit to appear there; and therefore I afterwards allowed the Doctor to dispose of the paper he had from me in what manner he pleased. I was desirous that the Inscriptions, some way or other, might be preserved; and, to that purpose, I dispersed copies of them into the hands of most of my learned friends. If I shall live to finish my Northumberland, this monument will chiefly belong to that work; and I would hope that, with the assistance of those that are better versed in these Antiquities than myself, I might there publish as full an explanation of the whole as would satisfy a curious reader. To this end I have sent my conjectures on the Runic part to Mr. Peringskiöld (publisher of the "Heims Kringla") at Stockholm, and to Mr. Winding at Copenhagen; and I shortly expect returns from both of them. Till, with these helps, I can make myself an absolute master of the whole legend, I could wish that a cut of it were given; with some such hint, as you mention, of the hopes we are in of having it more perfectly accounted for hereafter. I confess, I had rather (were the request modest) have this done in your book than in the "Transactions;" but I shall not be offended, I assure you, which way soever you and Dr. Sloane agree to dispose of it.

I shall likewise entirely submit the controversy betwixt Dr. Lowth and me to your umpirage and Mr. Gibson's. I must own to you, it can hardly enter into my head how he should be able to write a *clear vindication* of himself against that censure which (I
still

still think) I have very justly passed upon him. This has only three particulars in it which will require his pains. First, I take notice of his blunt charge against the two Doctors for *unfaithfully joining together* in misrepresenting Archbishop Cranmer and his opinions—these hard words are the Doctor's own, p. 485. Now, both the Archbishop's determinations and Dr. Leighton's are represented in the same manner by Dr. Durel and Dr. Burnet; so that I cannot see any such evil design in the Historian as he insinuates. But the main pinch is, secondly, I observe that the quarrel betwixt these two writers is *wholly about method*; which, I suppose, Dr. Lowth will by no means allow. Truly, Sir, I am verily persuaded that every unprejudiced reader will believe as I do, when he compares the answers to the queries, in the appendix, with the account which the author of the History himself has given of them (and his publishing of them in that order) in his third Letter on this occasion. Mr. Strype (in his Collections N^o XXVIII.) gives us one paper of answers to these questions omitted by Dr. Burnet, which he supposes (Mem. p. 78.) to be B. Thirlby's; in the margin of which paper are the names of Archbishop Cranmer, the Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Cox; *for what purpose* (says he) *I do not know, unless to signify their judgments are agreeable with his; though, in these very places, sometimes their minds and his differ.* When the Doctor is able to satisfy Mr. S. in this scruple, I shall incline to think that the Dean of Windsor and he are right in their conjectures about the Archbishop's subscription to Dr. Leighton's paper; but (after all) I shall be hard put to it to discern

discern those *little sinister ends* and *clawing* in the Historian which the Doctor sees in him. Thirdly, I hint that the Doctor was pushed on in this dispute by the late B. Parker. So Dr. Burnet long since, probably enough, guessed; and I do not peremptorily affirm it. I only say *it was so thought*. Dr. Lowth himself has assured me that his neighbour had no hand in the compiling of his book; and (if that will end the quarrel) I am willing to believe him.

You will please to give my respects to Mr. Thwaites; and let him know that it is above half a year since I heard from him, and a whole one since I had a line from Mr. Tanner.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

66. FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

GOOD MR. ARCHDEACON, MARCH 5, 1699-1700.

I HOPE by that time I received your second letter my answer to your first had reached you. I believe you will think me too favourable to these new Societies; but, in truth, as the state of things are among us, I do not yet find reason to alter my sentiments.

As for that you mention at Brampton, where the Vicars have obliged themselves to take their turns with the Minister of a Dissenting Congregation at a weekly lecture; if the meaning of that be, that they are to take their turns in preaching at his Meeting-house, or that he is to take his turn in preaching at their Churches, or, lastly, that they are

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to

to go hear him preach in his turn at the Conventicle—I say if any of these things be meant in that article (and what other meaning it can have I cannot find out); I think the thing ought not to be suffered, but they should be admonished to forbear; such practices being directly contrary to our constitution, and to the engagements they are under to preserve it.

Since my last to you, I have seen a copy of the articles which your Society at Carlisle have subscribed, and upon which it is founded. I dare now speak a little more positively to this matter than I did before.

I must confess to you, if a Society was entered into at York upon these articles, I should neither give the members of it any disturbance, nor any discouragement. I should only wish that those of the Clergy that joined in it would add an article or two more; whereby they should more particularly oblige themselves to the reading of prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and Holy-days; or in populous towns every day, unless they were hindered by some urgent business; secondly, to the holding monthly communions in their parishes; and, lastly, to the diligent attendance upon catechizing and instructing the youth of their parishes in the principles of Christianity. The practice of which things will, in my poor opinion, more contribute to the promoting a Reformation than the informing against criminals, though that is a good work too.

I have freely given you my sense about the matters of your two letters; and am, with sincere respects to my Lord Bishop and yourself, Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JO. EBOR.

67. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY MOST HON. LORD, MARCH 7, 1699-1700.

BEFORE I received the honour of your Grace's most obliging and most seasonable letter (which came to my hand on Saturday last), my good Lord our Bishop was under no small perplexity; being daily applied to by some of the Members of our Carlisle Society to declare himself in their favour. His Lordship has now drawn up a paper, to be dispersed in his Diocese, which will effectually put an end to all solicitations of this kind. He gives us there his general directions in the three following articles:

I. "I earnestly desire all my Clergy zealously to promote the good ends of his Majesty's late Proclamation; not only by their frequent Sermons on that subject, but likewise by such voluntary meetings and conferences amongst themselves (weekly or monthly) as may most conveniently be had, or such other methods (allowed on by the Canons of the Church and Laws of the Land) as they shall occasionally agree on.

II. "That in these conferences and meetings they would (as they see it necessary) request the company and assistance of such neighbouring Justices of the Peace, and other persons of note and gravity, as may best forward these their good designs.

III. "That, in their said consults, they confer only with such persons as are well affected to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church."

This, we hope, will stop the mouths of those that have hitherto clamoured against such as refused to come into Leagues with themselves; and I dare boldly undertake that we shall be as unanimous as any like number of Clergymen in the whole kingdom. They that were inconsiderately engaged in new measures, which the rest of us thought uncanonical, have acknowledged their rashness; and it is expected that Mr. Chancellor himself will likewise very shortly change his methods, and quit (at least) some of his associates; so that, I trust, we shall not give your Grace any farther trouble about this matter.

My Lord commands me to give his most humble thanks and duty to your Grace; and I am ever, my Lord, yours, &c. W. N.

68. FROM MR. YATES*.

SIR,

[MARCH .. 1699-1700.]

MR. Gregory acquainted me with your thoughts of the Society for Reformation of Manners, &c. lately set up at Carlisle; wherein it seems that some Churchmen join with the Dissenters; and he further told me that you would have writ to me about it, but, not being of your Diocese, you could not tell how it would be taken. I assure you I have so much respect for Mr. Archdeacon of Carlisle, that his

* Directed "To the Rev. Mr. Nicolson, archdeacon of Carlisle, at Salkeld, Chester; to be left with Mr. Hugh Nelson, at his shop in Penrith." And indorsed, "Given me at Penrith, March 13, 1699-1700, by Mr. Hudson of Queen's college. W. N."

advice or opinion in any matter would greatly weigh with me.

As to joining with the Dissenters in this specious matter, I must always look upon them as the real cause why our Church discipline is not powerful enough at present to correct the vices they now complain of. It is they that have taught the people to slight the Ecclesiastical censures; so that could we but make our Churchwardens sensible of the obligation their oath lays upon them, and our people of the real danger of justly incurring the Church censures, I really believe, it would be the most effectual way to suppress the gross acts of debauchery and open profaneness. I shall only tell you how the matter has of late been managed in the Archdeaconry of Chester. The Clergy near the great towns there preach a lecture on the first market-day of the month; before which they read the act against profane cursing and swearing, with his Majesty's late proclamation against immorality; and the effect was, the Dissenters, fearing the people should be drawn from them, took the same method; and, finding the Churchmen's discourses were more taking than theirs, they proposed to the Clergy mutually to hear one another: who replied, "they were willing, provided the Dissenters would take out licences for their lecture from the Bishop, according to the Canons, as they had done." I need not tell you what effect this answer had; you too well know their temper.

As for my own particular, I am resolved to have nothing to do with them; and I believe there is not a Churchman in this town (now we have lost Mr. T.) would join with them upon any score.

Good

Good Sir, pardon the length of this; and accept
of the sincere respects of

Your very humble servant, **FRAN. YATES.**

69. TO MR. YATES.

SIR,

MARCH 15, 1699-1700.

SINCE you are pleased so kindly to give me your thoughts of our modish way of associating with Dissenters, I shall (with my thanks) give you my own as freely.

I take this mode (by the sly revivers of it) to be transcribed from the associations of the Presbyterian and Independent Ministers in the days of Rebellion. The invention was first started in Worcestershire in the year 1653; the Divines of that County subscribing certain articles, obliging themselves to *admonish and reprove*; to have the *presence of the Magistrates at their meetings*, &c. And a long apology was published, in defence of this pious undertaking, by Mr. Baxter, who takes great pains to unite the Classical and Congregational brethren, but claws off the Episcopal party as a set of Cassandrian Papists. Not long after this, most of the Counties in England published the like accounts of their associations; and particularly, in 1656, the Associated Ministers of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, sent abroad their *Agreement*. I do not question but you have seen it; since there are so many copies of it still in the country. In the
prelimi

preliminary rules, they oblige themselves to lay *aside those things which belong only* ad melius esse; meaning, I suppose, all the outward accoutrements of Ecclesiastical discipline; and to join in practice of their following orders, *reserving to each their own principles*. Now, sir, such linsy-woolsey associations as these look like the proper manufacture of Kidderminster, and might be reasonable enough in those days of confusion: but why they should be brought in fashion under a settled Church government, unless it be upon the principle of comprehension, I cannot imagine.

I am the more jealous of the ill designed us, because they that are coolest in their affection for Episcopacy are the warmest in these new projects. The little Man of Law * (mentioned in yours) is wondrous active in asserting the honour, piety, and legality, of these combinations; and came lately to beg the Bishop's blessing (which he did in a most devout manner), in order to the more effectual bringing of a curse, the heavy curse of schism, upon the Church. He was pleased to maintain, that we ought to look upon such men as good Conformists who come to our Churches on the forenoons, though (in the afternoons) they are constant hearers of the Dissenting Preachers; which may give us a broad hint of what this gentleman would be at.

On second thoughts, I have resolved to inclose a copy of the Cumberland Association, for I have several of them, and you may possibly not have one at hand.

You will please to signify the receipt of this to,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

* Mr. Gregory. See pp. 151, 164.

70. FROM MR. WOTTON.

DEAR SIR,

MARCH 29, 1700.

I WAS in daily expectation of hearing that my Lord Longueville had been returned to his own house, that I might be able to give you some little account at least, by way of *Prodromus*, of what you would have of the antient kingdom, when yours of February 26 came to my hands. I was at London for some time, which was the reason why I could not answer it before. The freedom you express yourself with in yours, concerning the meeting of the Clergy here, is obliging. We would know what good men think of us, they only being the persons to whom we ought to give an answer; and, therefore, I question not but you will be thoroughly satisfied with what I am now to say.

First then, we meet not without the approbation of our Metropolitan and our Diocesan, to whom we surrender ourselves entirely in this matter; if they should signify their dislike of our assemblies, I believe none of us, I am sure I would not, meet an hour longer.

Secondly, we declare, our whole design of meeting is, to inform and assist one another which way we may best discharge our duties, in obeying the established Canons and Orders of the Church of England, legally constituted. The Twelfth Canon declares those tenets *anabaptistical*, which hold that the Magistrate has no power in matters relating to Religion. We make *no new rules*; that we disclaim: only we agree to join to consider how we
may

may keep the old; and to unite to do that which we were bound to do before we united, cannot be hurtful.

Thirdly, associations of any sort are *then* hurtful to a Church or Government, *when* they do *not* strengthen it. The Religious Orders in the Church of Rome hurt not the See of Rome, because they act under it, and fight its battles. Would Queen Elizabeth have been angry with the Prophesters if they had received all their orders, rules, and directions, from above? In short, we are strictly conformable to the Church of England, as opposed to Popery and Fanaticism in all its shapes. We think nothing has made the Church weak, but the small understanding between its officers; men whose business it is to support it and Religion. We would receive none among us that we think disaffected to our Church, should they wear a gown; at least they would soon be sick of us, as well as we of them. We have broken a medley meeting of Churchmen and Dissenters (at least such in their hearts) in our County, and have satisfied the scruples of those who objected the Twelfth Canon to us before. As far as I can judge, that particular body of men, of which I am not ashamed to own that I am one, are as averse to Fanaticism, are as conscientious Sons of the Church, as I know any where. We should be glad to have your further thoughts; what you say to me is *nomine tenus* concealed from the rest. When they know not who speaks to them, they cannot be angry. But, in short, we are not bigots: we think we do the Church a kindness, and consequently ourselves; when we find we do not, assure yourself we shall desist. I am sure, in every capacity, I am,

Your most affectionate,

W. WOTTON.

71. THE BISHOP OF CHESTER * TO MR. GILPIN.

SIR,

APRIL 6, 1700.

I AM sorry that your Society for Reformation of Manners has met with opposition from the Archdeacon of Carlisle. I hope that opposition will be removed by a letter lately sent, either to him or your Bishop, by the Archbishop of York, and by another which I have sent him by this post. I am so far from retracting what I have formerly done, that I make it my endeavour to promote those Societies in

* Nicholas Stratford, fellow of Trinity college, Oxford; B. D. 1664; D.D. 1673; was consecrated Bishop of Chester, Sept. 15, 1689. He was rector of Llansanfrayel in Mechen, Montgomeryshire, and otherwise beneficed; "an account of whom," says Dr. Willis, "being given in the inscription put upon his monument in the Cathedral, I shall thither refer for the character of this worthy Prelate; whose constant residence in his Diocese will render his memory precious to posterity; as will his zeal in repairing his Cathedral endear him to that City, beyond what is said of him in his Epitaph, which is inscribed in a compartment of white marble on the North side of the high altar; the only remaining monument of any Bishop interred in that Church, Bp. Hall's being only a Cenotaph. The inscription is as follows:

"NICHOLAS STRATFORD, S. T. P.

natus apud Hempstead in Com. Hartf. an. 1633.

Factus est

Coll. SS. Trinitatis Oxon. Socius, 1656.

Collegii Christi, apud Mancunium in Com. Lancaster,

Guardianus, 1667.

Sanctæ Margaretæ Leicestriæ, in eccl. Lincoln. Prebendarius, 1670.

Ecclesiæ Asaphensis Decanus, 1673.

In ecclesiâ de Aldermanbury, Londin. Concionator, 1683.

Eccl. de Wigan Rector, & Cestriæ Episcopus, 1689.

Mortuus

all parts of the Nation, and particularly in my own Diocese, where I have already caused several of the said Societies to be erected. The objections made by some persons (mentioned and answered in your letter) I take to be mere pretences, without any real truth to support them. The rules you find (p. 15 of the book you mention), which Mr. Archdeacon tells me your Society submits to, are to be observed by those only which are called the Religious Societies, and not those for Reformation. I have sent inclosed the "Help to a National Reformation," for the sake of the two last pieces in it, *viz.* the Prudential Rules, &c. and the Specimen of an Agree-

Mortuus est 12 die Februarii, 1706-7.

Ex vitâ per 18 annos hic sanctissimè institutâ
memoriam sibi reliquit omni marmore perennio-rem.

Reformatam Fidem

eruditis contra pontificios scriptos strenuè asseruit,

Ecclesiæ defensor priùs quàm pater.

Illorum quos adeptus est honorum nullos ambiit,
nonnullos spontè deposuit.

Divitiarum adeo, erat non cupidus,
ut post 40 annos inter dignitates ecclesiasticas
exactos, rem sibi relictam non solum non auxerit,
sed in tuendis Ecclesiæ ipsi creditæ juribus
eam libentissimè imminuerit.

Morum simplicitate, charitate in omnes, pietate
in Deum, erat planè primævâ.

Episcopale munus eâ fide administravit,
ut qui ordinem non agnoscerent,

virum faterentur esse reverè apostolicum :

laboribus magis quàm annis fractus occubuit,

à Christo cui soli serviebat promissum dispensatori
fido præmium laturus.

Gulielmus Stratford, S. T. P. filius unicus,
Archidiaconus Richmondi,

Ædis Christi apud Oxon. Canonicus, optimo parenti P."

Dr. Browne Willis, Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 337.

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ment, which I suppose you not already have. The other paper is sent on purpose to acquaint you with another Society lately erected for the Propagation of Knowledge. You are mistaken in taking the book recommended by so many names prefixed to it to be Dr. Bray's; he was not the author of it, nor any other Clergyman, but a gentleman of your own profession, I mean a Barrister at Law; this I am assured of, because he himself sent me a rude draught of the book to Chester, to be perused by me at least, a whole year before the said book was made publick. I have not yet leave to acquaint you with his name, or to what Society of the Inns of Court he belongs.

I have not leisure to say more, and have been hardly put to it to redeem time for what I have already written.

That God would direct your Society, and give good success to your sincere endeavours for the suppressing of vice and wickedness, and the promoting of piety and virtue, is the hearty prayer of, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

N. CESTRIENS.

I concluded you would sooner pardon me for writing on so small a piece of paper, than for omitting to give you an account of a matter which so nearly concerns you*.

* Addressed, "To Wm. Gilpin, Esq. Scaleby, near Carlisle." See hereafter, p. 177.

72. TO DR. WAKE.

REV. SIR,

APRIL 8, 1700.

IT is so long since there was any occasion for my troubling you with a letter, that I cannot tell whether this will hit the way to you. If it does, it will acquaint you that (on Saturday last) I received a surly answer to your "Authority of Christian Princes," &c. wherein, I find, the ill-natured Author has done me the honour to snarl at me in very good company. As rash and heedless a writer as he makes me, I think myself very able to prove that he shoots his bolts as much *at random* as I have done. I am now, Sir, entering upon my Visitation. As soon as that is over, I shall draw together some notes upon this bantering book; which (if you will give me leave) I shall shortly send to you. I may, possibly, hit upon something in them which your more curious eye may overlook. I shall chiefly examine his state of the Saxon Church; wherein (I am very sure) he is most scandalously mistaken. This part I shall consider with the utmost exactness I can; and, if you please to refer it to me, the spare minutes you intend to bestow on the book may be employed on the times since the Conquest.

With a very sincere and hearty respect I am ever,
Sir, yours, W. N.

73. TO MR. DEAN *.

APRIL 11, 1700.

I SUPPOSE you have seen a book lately published, in answer to Dr. Wake, wherein I am severely reprimanded for meddling with matters which I do not understand. The materials of this learned piece were (I am told) prepared by Dr. Hutton † of Ayn-

* Dean Graham; see p. 132.

† Matthew Hutton, born at Poppleton in Yorkshire 1639; Fellow of Braze-nose college, Oxford; M.A. 1669, B.D. 1669, D.D. 1670. He was presented, in March 1677, by Thomas Cartwright, Esq. to the rectory of Aynhoe in Northamptonshire; which he held till his death, as appears by the following epitaph on an elegant monument in the chancel of that church:

“ MATTHÆUS HUTTON, S. T. P.
hujus ecclesiæ rector integerrimus,
Ricardo Hutton de Poppleton
in comitatu Eboracensi armigero
et Dorotheâ uxore ejus,
Dom. Ferdinandi Fairfax Baronis filiâ natus,
Antiquitatum Britannicarum apprimè socius,
in Ecclesiasticis præsertim Monumentis
pervolendis describendisque indefessus:
Vitâ severus, moribus comes, animo simplex;
primævæ & Fidei tenax, & Pietatis æmulus:
Elizabetham, Rogeri Burgoyne filiam,
sibi matrimonio conjunctam habuit,
& mutuo affectu conjunctissimam;
quam
duobus ex eâ susceptis filiis, Roberto & Thomâ,
mœrentem reliquit,
repentinâ morte extinctus,
die Jan. 27, ann. Dom. 1711, ætatis suæ 72.”

Dr. Hutton left in MS. above twenty volumes of Collections from the Registers of York and Wells; of which Mr. Wharton had the use, but does not say where they were lodged afterwards. Three octavo volumes of his transcripts from York Registers are in the Harleian Library. See Gough's British Topog. II. p. 422.

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hoe; but they were put together by a pert gentleman of Christ Church, who has shown himself to have a much greater share of wit than logick. He proves me to be a blockhead by such arguments as (I confess) I should never have thought on. My greatest mishap is, there is no replying to him; for I am assured before-hand, that whoever shall be so fool-hardy as to do that, must expect the united strength of the whole College upon him. And what an irrecoverable loss would the learned world have, if all my Saxon should perish in the same pit of destruction with Dr. Bentley's Greek!

Yours, &c.

W. N.

74. TO MR. WOTTON.

DEAR SIR,

APRIL 13, 1700.

BEING just now entering upon the Visitation of this Diocese, and having received my Lord's (our Bishop's) instructions on the subject of the modish Societies, I am the better able to answer the request in your last, about our thoughts of those meetings.

We do not doubt but most (if not all) of these Associations were entered into out of a religious and hearty zeal for the furthering the good work recommended to us in the King's proclamation; but we fear they have been so forwardly engaged in, that they may have other effects than were foreseen. We are not yet satisfied in their being Canonical; and there are some particulars in all these

new

new schemes, which some of us think are not so exactly legal as a matter of general practice ought to be. The Minister and Churchwardens, in every parish, make, we are sure, a lawful Society and Corporation; and, if they punctually observe the rules prescribed to them in the Canons, we shall not need to vex ourselves in seeking out any fresh modes of Reformation. However, that we may not appear to be less zealous in the cause of God and Religion than our neighbours; my Lord has ordered a paper of directions to be given to the incumbents of the several parishes, wherein he advises them to have as frequent meetings and conferences amongst themselves, as their several circumstances will allow: but these meetings are proposed to be *voluntary*, and not under the constraint of subscribed articles and by-laws of our own fashioning.

“In the days,” &c. as far as “I trust *.”

These are our thoughts; in which we are as little guilty of bigotry as you can be in your way. I pray God all our methods may work together towards the attainment of our common end.

I presume you have seen a reply to Dr. Wake; wherein *sleepy* I am brought into the reckoning, with a great air of contempt. It is pity such nice collections should be put together by such an insolent, bungling, and illogical compiler; for it is most apparent, the Antiquary and the Jack-pudding are two several persons.

Yours, &c.

W. N.

* This paragraph, left here imperfect, was probably intended to have been a transcript of part of a letter to some other Correspondent.

75. TO MR. GILPIN.

SIR,

APRIL 26, 1700

YOUR letter (of the 17th instant) was brought to me this day from Penrith. How long it lay there, or how it came thither, I know not.

What I gave in charge at Carlisle, and the other three Deanries of the Diocese, was approved on (*in terminis*) by our worthy Bishop; and has had the happiness to be generally well received by my brethren of the Clergy, for whose only direction it was penned. I begged also the advice of several other Bishops (and, amongst the rest, my good Lord of Chester) on this subject. I found, as I hinted, some variety in their opinions; but I thought the safest way for me was to adhere to the sentiments of my Metropolitan and Diocesan. There are two Societies formed by the Bishop of Chester's allowance; but there is no such mixture (as Conformists and Dissenters) in those, as there is in yours at Carlisle, and was in that at Brampton. I cannot learn that any Bishop in the kingdom thinks fit to countenance such mongrel combinations; and yet these are proposed as examples here, though we can (with good authority) affirm that they are *directly contrary to our Established Constitution*.

Whenever, Sir, you will allow me an opportunity of waiting on you at Carlisle, I shall frankly give you my own thoughts of these meetings, and will be thankful for yours; being ever, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

76. TO THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

MY LORD,

APRIL 28, 1700.

ON Friday last I had a letter from Mr. Gilpin ; wherein he tells me, that he has been “ confirmed in his sentiments” (about the new Societies) “ by some discourse he lately had with your Lordship.” I have let him know that what I gave in charge on that subject to the Clergy at Carlisle had your approbation *in terminis*, just as I delivered it. And I have likewise acquainted him, that I was commanded by my Lord Archbishop to “ admonish the men of Brampton to forbear ; their practices being directly contrary to our Constitution, and to the engagements they are under to preserve it.” I am sure his Grace will assert these his instructions : and I must likewise earnestly hope that your Lordship will affirm what I have publicly delivered to the Clergy of your Diocese, as your own sentiments.

If any gentleman shall take upon him to report that your private engagements to him are inconsistent with the paper of directions dispersed by your own command, I trust your Lordship will resent the treatment as it deserves ; and, to prevent such rumours for the future, discourse with such persons, in presence only of your Chaplains, or some others of your family who are able to help your memory in the particulars of this nice point.

You will please to pardon this zeal for your Lordship's honour, and the presumption of

Yours, &c.

W. N.

77. FROM

77. FROM MR. BURSCOUGH *.

REVEREND SIR,

TOTNESS, MAY 1, 1700.

I RECEIVED yours, and should long before this time have returned you an answer, but that, partly by my absence from home, and partly by a great multitude of business, I was hindered from consulting my MSS. But I will delay no longer to acquaint you,

I. That the “*Speculum Regis Edw. III.*” is only a manual of directions for his use, and not a History of his Life. It begins thus “*O Domine mi Rex,*” &c. It is said of this book, in the margin of my Bale, where he mentions this Simon Isleppus, “*Extat Cantabr. in Bibliothecâ Publicâ.*”

II. The discourse of the pretended [I suppose it should be *intended*] marriage of the Duke of Norfolk hath no name annexed to it. It contains sharp reflexions on *both*; and shews how inconsistent the marriage would be with the interest of Religion, of the Nation, and of Queen Elizabeth. After follows a declaration of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, which they published in the time of their Rebellion against the Queen: and then the Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, in the way of our modern narratives.

III. My “*Liber Medicus*” hath no name to it. It wants some leaves at the beginning, and hath no

* Robert Burscough, of Queen's College, Oxford; M. A. 1682; vicar of Totness; installed archdeacon of Barum, in the diocese of Exeter, in March 1703; in which year he published “*A Vindication of the Twenty-third Article of Religion, from a late Exposition referred to my Lord Bishop of Sarum.*” He died in 1709.—Dr. William Burscough, bishop of Limerick 1725—1755, was, probably, his son.

explicit, from which I might frame a conjecture of it. And that which Junius transcribed from the Hatton Library I never saw, and so could never compare them. Mine is written on parchment, in a large octavo; and, if you think it worth your farther enquiry, I should give more particulars of it, or lend you the book itself.

IV. My book hath nothing in it of King Edgar's Ecclesiastical Laws that is not extant in Lambarde; nor yet quite so much, for mine is a little defective in the end. Spelman I never saw. At the end of mine there is a Bidding Prayer, in use, as I conjecture, long before the Reformation; but it is written with a late hand. There are some things also in Saxon; but, being overwhelmed with other affairs, I have had no time to consider them.

Your reflexions on the Societies for Reformation were very surprising to me; for I had heard a great deal of good of them, and no evil at all. The printed book you mention had not only the approbation of your Diocesan, but of nine other English Bishops, of two Archbishops, and seven Bishops of the kingdom of Ireland, who are much more able to penetrate into the bottom of this matter than I can; and, doubtless, if they had discovered any evil design in it against the Church, would have acted a quite other part. The most considerable objection against it is what you have urged from the Twelfth Canon of our Church. But I think the error of the Anabaptists therein condemned was this: that, being private persons, they might reform the public worship, and that not only without, but against the consent of their Magistrates: whereas the persons here associated pretend only to help the Government
to

to put the Laws against heresies, blasphemy, profaneness, and all immorality, in execution : so that, in my opinion, they rather strengthen the hands of those that are in authority, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, than derogate from it.

Thus, in compliance with your desire, I have given you my thoughts of these Societies; and I shall only add, that if they are not perfectly agreeable to our Constitution, I could wish they were.

I am, with a very hearty respect, Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

ROBERT BURSCOUGH.

78. FROM MR. ELLISON.

DEAR FRIEND,

MAY 3, 1700.

I WOULD have answered your kind letter sooner if I had been at home ; but I took journey for Staffordshire the day after the receipt of yours. I find you are not singular in your jealous apprehensions of the new-formed Societies ; but yet I find them generally approved of where I have been. We have great reason to suspect the best designs, since the foulest villanies have been transacted under the most specious and sanctified shews. But God forbid that this should for ever obstruct all honest and laudable designs that hereafter shall be set on foot ! It shall make me cautious how I believe the best pretensions till I see how effectually they answer them. And, therefore, if you find any of the Societies break through any establishments of our Church and State, pray let me know, and I will

will be of your opinion. The sixth article of the Bedford and Buckinghamshire Ministers is, most of all, liable to objection; though I am apt to believe that nothing more was designed by it than that they thought it not prudent that their proposals and debates should be made public to every one, which their own prudence would have obliged them to, without making it an express article. I have, inclosed, sent you an account of the several Societies that are formed, presuming that you may not, perhaps, have yet seen it. So far I approve of the project of the Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge, that, by the distribution of Dr. Bray's Short Discourse upon the New Covenant, to get ten pounds worth of books, for a standing library, for a poor neighbouring curacy.

The worst news that I met with in my journey was, to find you so roughly treated by the Author of "The Rights, Power, and Privileges, of an English Convocation *." But, if your friends are so much concerned for you, they cannot but think that you will yourself most highly resent it. The Au-

* This famous book appeared at first without the Author's name, and was professedly in answer to a book of Dr. Wake's, intitled, "The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted, &c." and several other pieces. However warmly it was afterwards resented by Dr. Wake, it was thus handsomely spoken of by that gentleman, in a letter to Dr. Charlett, dated March 28, 1700. "I need not tell you that the world here is as full of Mr. Atterbury's book as I left it at Oxford. I find men's judgments follow their affections; and some look upon it to be a complete conquest, others to have no such formidable appearance in it. But in this all agree, that it was writ with a hearty good-will, and may be a pattern for charity and good-breeding."—It will appear by a subsequent letter that Dr. Wake soon found reason materially to alter his opinion.

thor

thor is not certainly known here: I am apt to believe it must be somebody whom you have disgusted by giving him too free or too slender a character in your book; otherwise he would not have sought out every opportunity to revenge himself upon you. I doubt not but, long before this, you have seen the book, and should be glad to have your thoughts of the Author; which is all at present from, Dear Sir,

Your sincere and affectionate brother,

and humble servant,

N. ELLISON.

79. FROM MR. GREGORY.

MR. ARCHDEACON,

MAY 16, 1700.

MRS. Parker was with me yesterday, and tells me the parishioners of Haldale will not suffer her husband to be haggled (as she terms it) betwixt your brother Nevinson and me; nor will they suffer him to preach at Terpenhow once in a month. They pretend that my Lord Bishop, being acquainted with it, has expressed his dislike of it. I know not whence this scruple arises; but I am afraid Mr. P. has possessed them with this opinion. We must rely upon you to manage that point. When I receive your answer, your brother and I will consult together, and endeavour to bring the man to as good manners as is possible for him. Mr. Yates has writ to me that he sent you an answer by Mr. Coates to your last, and that he left his letter at Sal-keld. I am your most obliged humble servant,

PET. GREGORY.

Mr.

Mr. Justice Nicolson, Mayor of Carlisle, came to give me a visit on Tuesday. I was surprized at the meaning of it till he produced the following letter *.

80. TO THE BISHOP OF CHESTER.

MY LORD,

MAY 20, 1700.

I HAD the kind favour of your Lordship's letter, touching our Societies, when I was upon the Visitation of this Diocese about three weeks ago. I have since seen a copy of another you were pleased at the same time to write to Mr. Gilpin: whereby I perceive that I have been represented to your Lordship as an enemy to some good designs which he and others had set forward for the Reformation of Manners. I have a just value for your Lordship's good esteem; and I therefore think myself obliged to give this account of my behaviour in that matter. I have punctually adhered to the paper of directions (whereof the inclosed is a copy) which our own good Bishop has thought fit to give us; and have heartily recommended it, in every of its particulars, to the observance of my brethren. I have likewise proposed the buying and dispersing of good practical books amongst our poor parishioners; and for the making of somewhat of an attempt that way, I handed two or three such books (*gratis*) to the Churchwardens of the several parishes, together with their Book of Articles. I also gave it in charge,

* This was the letter (No 71) already printed in p. 170.

that

that they should be strictly careful in bringing to condign punishment (as his Majesty's Proclamation directs) all common Swearers, Profaners of the Lord's day, &c.

I confess, my Lord, I am no encourager of such Societies as Mr. Gilpin is for engaging in. He is for mixing (or confounding) the Churchmen with Dissenters; and has never, hitherto, offered at the framing of any but what are of that complexion. This has given a general distaste to the Clergy of this Diocese, who are (as unanimously as it is possible for such a body of men to be) averse to these proceedings. They look upon them as what would give great scandal to the members of our own Communion, and extremely weaken the interest we now have in our people. And, I dare say, Mr. Gilpin himself thinks they argue rightly.

Humbly begging your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and your paternal blessing; I am, with a very hearty respect and honour, my Lord,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

81. FROM DR. WAKE.

HON. SIR,

MAY 22, 1700.

I HOPE this will find you returned from your Visitation, and at leisure to lend me that little assistance which your Church at Carlisle may afford to my present subject. It would be of considerable advantage to me, to be able to recover the exact dates of all our antient Parliaments and Convocations between

tween the 22 Edward I. and 25 Henry VIII. In your Province I could especially desire to do it, because, upon the accidental view of some antient Convocation Writs, I find that you met oftentimes at a very different time from our Province. I would also be glad to have it observed, in the King's Summons of Convocation, whether he expressly intimates (oftentimes I find he does) that he summons them for their aid; and, where he does so, that that clause of the brief might be transcribed. In the return of the *Procuratoria* several things are observable. Sometimes they are directed for Parliament to the King, for Convocation to the Archbishop, and that at the same time. Sometimes those for the Parliament Clerks to treat *cum Magnat', &c. apud Westm'*; those for the Crown, *cum Ven. patr. Arch. Ebor', et reliquis Episc. & Clero Prov. Ebor.*

My request to you is, to look, or cause some person whom you can confide in to look, for me into your Registers, and to give me such an account as may be recovered from thence, of these particulars. As for example:

A^o . . Parliamentum apud Westm^r, die Augusti. . . .
Convoc. apud Ebor. Octav. S. Mich. Brev. Reg. pro
Auxilio in hæc verba Registr. . . fol. . .

Procurat. pro Parlamento. Registr. . . fol. . .

Procurat. pro Convocatione Registr. . . fol. . .

Sir, I am sensible that this will be a troublesome request to you; but it is for a public cause; and shall, upon all occasions, be returned in any thing I can do here; and therefore I will not make any apology for my requesting of it. I have written to the Archbishop of York, to procure some person to do the like there. Had you any body at Durham on
whose

whose care, ability, and secresy you could rely, somewhat more might be had to complete our remarks from thence. But, whatever be done, I would beg it as soon as conveniently might be: for, though some men may take three years to write a book, others must not expect the favour of half that time to answer it.

I do not think to rise up any higher in my reflections than the time of Edward I. If you would please to consider the Saxon part according to your proposal, and carry on your remarks to that time, we should, between us, furnish out a tolerable History of the Convocations.

If in any of your Registers any acts of your Convocations be particularly entered, note them for me, that we may know how to recur hereafter to them.

If in any of your Registers for Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth you have any dates of Convocations different from those of their Parliaments, or any intimations of a licence or act according to the 25th Henry VIII. c. 19: or if in your own collections and observations, either from MSS. or printed authors, any thing of this kind occurs; or if in perusing their book, or mine, you hit upon any blunders fit to be corrected in either or both (for I design reflections and emendations on my own as well as theirs), be pleased freely, and timely, to communicate it to,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obliged and very affectionate
friend and servant,

WILL. WAKE.

82. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL KINDS OF SOCIETIES, SET UP OF LATE YEARS, FOR CARRYING ON THE REFORMATION OF MANNERS, AND FOR THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE *.

AFTER that the virtuous part of England had long complained of the infamous Clubs of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, who for many years past have laboured to set up the pretended Oracles of misguided Reason against the undoubted Oracles of God; too many of whom, by their scandalous lives, most agreeable to their principles, have endeavoured to destroy in themselves, and others, all notions of divine things, and of the differences of good and evil; it was thought necessary by divers serious persons of the Church of England, that the Children of Light should endeavour to be as wise as they; and, by forming themselves into Societies, should assist one another in their most holy faith, and a practice agreeable thereto.

These and the like considerations brought together a considerable number of such pious persons (about twenty years since); who met often, to pray, sing Psalms, and read the Holy Scriptures together, and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another, by their religious conferences; and their number hath been daily so increased, that they make at present about Thirty-nine Societies in and about London and Westminster; and their example hath been followed by devout persons, in divers other

* This brief Account of the Nature of the Society may be deemed a proper appendage to what has been said on this subject in several of the preceding Letters.

parts of this Nation and in Ireland, especially in Dublin, where there are about Ten of these Societies, supported by the Reverend Bishops and Inferior Clergy there. These Societies, and their methods and orders, were enquired into and approved by our late Queen of blessed memory, and the late excellent Archbishop Tillotson, and are greatly esteemed by several Most Reverend and Right Reverend Bishops, who have made the same enquiry: and these are the Societies which are particularly called "The Religious Societies," whose rise, progress, and charitable designs, are described and recommended in a pious discourse by the reverend Mr. Woodward.

But the private devotions and exemplary lives of the members of these Societies were not sufficient to stop the torrent of Vice, which had broken down all the banks of Reason and Religion; and therefore, about ten years since, five or six private gentlemen, Members of the Church of England, considering that the higher the tide of wickedness was, the more need there was of opposing it, resolved to associate themselves to make their utmost efforts for promoting the execution of the Laws against Vice and Immorality, and the suppressing of them by adviseable methods: and this design, though at first violently opposed by the champions and advocates of debauchery, yet, by the Divine assistance, the patronage of his most Sacred Majesty, and his late most Gracious Queen, the countenance of the Clergy of the greatest figure in the Church (particularly of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury by his circular letter), and the zeal and industry of the persons engaged therein, hath prospered to

to a degree exceedingly great, beyond what human wisdom did or could expect; for this design, encountering no man's honest advantage, no ways intermeddling in matters of controversy, being directed by men of considerable rank and fortune, as Members of Parliament, Justices of the Peace, Lawyers, and eminent Citizens, and who are also of the clearest character; and the executive part managed by such who have refused even that part of the forfeitures on convictions which the Law allows to informers, lest they should seem to aim at their own private advantage; many virtuous people of the too various denominations of Protestants amongst us have readily agreed to join hearts and purses in the prosecution thereof; and this union of hearts and affections in things, so agreeable to all who deserve the name of Protestants, of Christians, of Englishman, or even of Men, hath been of great use, to remove the prejudices which many had taken up against the Established Church, and against one another, and hath laid a foundation of that union which may be a probable means of putting an end to schisms and divisions, of restoring the primitive discipline in the Church, and of teaching England to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

It is by the endeavours of this Society (assisted by the Religious Societies aforesaid), and divers others since formed and acting under the influence of it, that more than 20,000 persons have been convicted for Swearing, Cursing, or Prophanation of the Lord's-day, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, and many of them (at least outwardly) reformed thereby; and the prosecutions have been
managed

managed with so much tenderness and Christian charity, that no just cause of complaint has ever yet appeared against them; and, by the endeavours of one of these Societies alone, three thousand lewd and disorderly persons have been punished within the same limits. And it is of these Societies, and their rise, progress, and success, that the world has had an account in a book intituled “An Account of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in England and Ireland; with a persuasion to persons of all ranks to be zealous and diligent in promoting the Execution of the Laws against Prophaneness and Debauchery, for effecting a National Reformation. Published with the Approbation of a considerable number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Honourable Judges of both Kingdoms *.”

But, though the success of these Societies was already very great, and though it should be still more and more abundant, there seemed yet something more that was needful to be done, against Satan's kingdom, and to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The meeting together for mutual edification in Religious Societies is a probable means of making good men better; and the vigilance of Societies for Reformation of Manners is likely not only to keep ill men from growing worse, but to convert and amend them. But for the lasting establishment of our Holy Faith, and the spreading of it in the world, there is a visible necessity of some special care to be taken for the breeding up of children in Virtue and true Religion, for the reclaiming of those who err in the fundamentals of Christianity, and

* By Mr. Yates, Barrister of the Temple. W. N.

for encouraging the Propagation of the Gospel in our Plantations.

This consideration moved some persons of honour and quality, who had a true zeal for the glory of God, the salvation of their brethren, and the reputation of our Mother-Church, to unite themselves into a Society "for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge" both at home and abroad; and they applied themselves to form methods, and to find out means, of accomplishing so glorious an undertaking; regulating themselves always by the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, as the Societies for Reformation do themselves by the Temporal Laws of England. And thus, about March 1698-9, began the Society for Promoting of Christian Knowledge, which has since that time been daily increased by the accession of many worthy persons, who were desirous to be instrumental in so excellent a design; so that at present it consists of a considerable number of persons of quality and estates, Bishops, eminent Clergymen, Lawyers, &c. besides their Correspondents which are carrying on the same work in all the counties of England and Wales, and in the Plantations beyond the Seas.

This Society meets weekly, to deliberate about what is expedient for the carrying on of those pious ends for which they united; and they have already made a progress beyond what could reasonably have been hoped for in so short a time. They have (by their own subscriptions and others which they have procured) bought great numbers of useful books, for the furnishing of the Plantations with Parochial Libraries, to invite worthy Clergymen to those parts; by whose labours the Christians who are there

there may be edified, and the Gospel propagated among the Unbelievers.

They have dispersed great numbers of good books, for the instructing of poor families in the true principles of the Christian Religion. They are using means for the providing *Catechetical Libraries* in the smaller parishes, to enable the inferior Clergy the better to perform their duty of Catechizing, according to the LIXth Canon, and the greater parishes with Lending Libraries, which will be of great use to the poorer Clergy, to assist them in the more successful opposing of errors and heresies. And they have more particularly applied themselves to the setting-up of Schools for the Education of Poor Children, many of which are erected, and are now erecting, in the country. In and about London and Westminster there are already set up about twenty of them, in which near a thousand poor children of both sexes, are taught to read the Bible, and to repeat and understand the Church Catechism; and the boys are besides taught to write and cast accompts, to fit them for trades; and the girls to knit, work with their needle, &c. to make them good servants in others' families, or good wives and mothers in their own. And by this means we have a fair prospect of a great reformation of the poorer sort (who are now so much corrupted), by the bringing up of such numbers of them piously in a true conformity to the Church, and in ways that lead them to be serviceable to the publick.

It is not doubted but that all true lovers of the Church of England to whom this account shall come will, with their prayers, countenance, and assistance, join in these pious endeavours, by which

so much good may be done to the world, and so much honour redound to our holy Religion and the Established Church, that our enemies may have no room to charge us with the betraying the interest of our Church by supinity or negligence, or with coldness in promoting true piety and religion at home, or in spreading it abroad in the remoter part of the earth. And we need not doubt but these blessed designs will gain credit to this Church both at home and abroad, and help to continue it, as it hath constantly been since the Reformation, the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion.

83. FROM DR. WAKE.

HON. SIR,

JUNE 29, 1700.

I AM heartily sorry that I should have occasion to put you to the trouble I do, under so ill a state of health as your last to me speaks of. I need not say that I most earnestly wish you a release from your indisposition; and do beg leave, in order thereunto, to recommend a hearty care of your health to you.

My first design, which was only some reflections on the late book published against us *, grows so fast upon my hands that I cannot guess where it will end. I have met with many friends, and great encouragement, to lay at least a scheme for a complete History of our Convocations, and the most material points relating to them. I shall comply with their desires, and do my best not to give them any cause

* Mr. Atterbury's; see p. 181.—See also p. 202; and the Letter there referred to.

to repent of the pains that they have, several of them, taken for me. From York, by your cousin Mr. Pearson and my old fellow-traveller Dr. Fall *, I have received large and useful collections. Yet, in this specimen of yours, I meet with no less than seven Convocations, of which there are no footsteps in any of their Registers. Of these, therefore, I must beg leave to desire a larger account, as to *the times and places of meeting*, the *cause of their summons*, and any *material clauses* that occur in the *instruments* relating to them. The Convocations are these:

Reg. Jo. de Halton.

P. 132, 6. Synod. Maii 20 (*sine loco.*) By the next instrument it appears to be York, 1310. In some of my notes, this same Convocation is set 1309. Qu.

P. 140, 2. Its adjournment from York to Blithe.

P. 184, 2. Mandat. Reg. Decano et Cap. Ebor. (*sede vacante*) ad Synod. convocand. Feb. 16, 9 Edw. II. Qu. What was done hereupon?

P. 189, 190. The like Mandate in French, Oct. 11, 10 Edw. II. If that instrument were not long, I would be glad to have it entire †.

P. 213, Convoc. Ebor. (*sine die*) 1318. Qu. The time of its meeting?

Reg. Jo. de Kyrkeby.

P. 284, 1. Procurator. pro Convocatione die Lunæ prox. post Octab. Epiph. 1333. Repeated, p. 289, 4. Qu. For what Convocation?

P. 327, 328, 329. Mandate from the Archbishop for a Convocation at York; Monday, 6th May. What makes this so very long?

* Dr. James Fall, præcentor of York, to which he was collated in 1697. He died in May 1711.

† See it in p. 199.

I have no whole instrument of any such mandate in your Province. Could you not get somebody to take the trouble of transcribing this for me; or any other of the like kind which you think more full or proper for my purpose?

P. 365, 4. Monition for a Convocation at York, anno 1337.

P. 376, 4. Convoc. Crast. Mich. 12 Edw. III. Pray favour me with the *clause* of the *King's Writ* that specifies the *time*, and *with that* of the Archbishop which *changes it*.

P. 408, 1. Convocat. Ebor. in Octab. Purific. B. Virg. M. 14 Edw. III.

You see, Sir, how secure I account myself of your friendship, and with what freedom I trouble you. But may I add to my own confidence; and pray you to write to your friend (so I am told he is) Mr. Smith * at Burnhall, who is engaged there in the same search, to make his extracts as full and exact as his time and patience will allow him. I have but three Churches in your Province from whence to gather materials; and it will in time appear that the state of your Province will do as much, or more, to the settling of our present questions, than that of ours.

If any thing occurs that may vindicate *your Rights*, and shew you not to have thought yourselves obliged servilely to follow what our Province did (as this late Author has confidently asserted), I shall be heartily glad to do you all the justice I can and ought to do in it.

* George Smith, son of Dr. John Smith; of whom see hereafter, Letter 95, p. 224.

Some late reasons make me desire, if any thing be to be met with relating to the methods of *coming to, acting in, or returning from Convocations* (especially the Ecclesiastical), to beg the favour of it.

I mention this at large, hoping that you will give the like directions to your friend at Burnham, whom I have myself no manner of acquaintance with; nor can, therefore, with any freedom write to.

Mr. Gibson has been so kind as to go a pilgrimage to Canterbury on purpose to assist me. Mr. Tanner does the like to Norwich and Lincoln. They are wonderfully kind, and I must ever acknowledge their great civilities to me.

Our gentlemen of the Society have only gained among their own friends by their last piece; the Lawyers and Antiquaries are generally against them; I might almost say universally. So are all the good and charitable men of all sides; insomuch that their own friends are often put to it, to make apologies for their unseemly and unchristian way of writing.

But I tire you with these impertinences: once more, therefore, I must heartily wish you your health, and beg your excuse for this trouble; which I shall look upon as a debt of friendship, and an engagement to oblige me always to remain, as with very much sincerity I am, honoured and reverend Sir,

Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

WILLIAM WAKE.

Pray favour me with the time of your last proxy for a Parliament that remains on your Chapter books.

You may send any packet of almost any bigness to me by post, directed, in a cover, to Mr. Passewater, at the General Post Office, in Lombard-street.

84. FROM DR. WAKE.

HON. SIR,

JULY 9, 1700.

IT was not till within these few days that I knew how much I was obliged to you for the packet sent Mr. Gibson: for the favour of your Collections in that, and for those of your second letter out of your Registers, I beg leave to return my most hearty thanks to you.

What was to be had at Durham I have received; and, to *trim* the controversy, they have (by public order) sent the very same Collections to our friends of the Society. I am well content with their proceeding: for I search after truth, and desire neither to suppress nor misrepresent any thing. You have animadverted in some places severely enough, yet I think justly too, on your Adversary. What I have to say will now begin to appear; my Collections, which I have pursued with all the instance I could, being now mostly come in; and I myself preparing, after a short ramble into the West, to settle at Oxford for two months, and apply myself wholly to the carrying on of my book. In the mean time I pray God to establish your health; and I hope by uniting, as we some of us do together, we shall neither be *huffed* nor *argued* out of our reputation, whatever become of our preferment.

I am, honoured Sir, your most unfeignedly affectionate friend and servant,

WILLIAM WAKE.

85. TO DR. WAKE.

Reg. Joh. de Halton Ep'i Karl. p 189.

“ Edward, par la grace de Diex, Roi d'Engleterre, Seign' d'Irreland, et Duck de Aquitaine, a nos chiers en Dieu Dean et Chapitre del Eglise Sanct Pierre de Evrewyk, saluz. Come, p'r refreondre et rebotre, al'aide de Dieu, la malice et l'engresse'ie de nos Enemis d'Escoce, que s'eafforcent de purchaser a nous et le nos touz les mars qu'l poient, soioms en alant vers les parties du North, ou il nous covenit avoir grand foison de devers pur l'exploit de nos besoignes; e les Pr'lats et le Clerge de la Province de Cantebere nous ount promis a faire un aide covenable pur cel voiage, et l'exploit de nos dite besoignes; vous touche plus pres que ceus du Clerge de la Province avandite, vous tant especialment de Evrewyk, come nous que a plus en haste que vous faces assembler le Clerge de la Province de Evrewyk, que il soit devant vous a Evrewyk a acun jour certain dedeins le quinze jours apres la date de cestes, et vos pregnes sipres de nous, faire acun covenable eide que se soit al honour et profist de nous et de vous, et de tout nostre poeple, et confusion de nos enemis avandits; eants resgard que l'exploit de nos dites besoignes touche plus a vous que a ceux del autre Province, de tant com nos enemis vos sont plus pres. Done sous nostre prive-seal a Evrewyk, le xi jour de Octobre, l'an du nostre Regne disme*.”

* See before, p. 195.

§6. FROM DR. WAKE.

HON. SIR,

OCT. 6, 1700.

YOUR letter of the 23d of September, and, since that, the packet therein mentioned, I received. I heartily thank you for the trouble you have been at, in transcribing so much for me; and am no less sorry for the cause of your excuse, which indeed I had with great regret had an account of from several hands before. As for my work, though it goes forward as well as I could expect, yet am I still far from the end of it. I have, by the encouragement of our common friends, laid so large a design, that I shall not be able suddenly to finish it. Yet to those who desire a full and true account of the nature and history of our Convocations, I hope, when it appears, it will not be altogether unprofitable.

You are very right as to the extracts sent me from Durham: they are short, and almost useless. Would my health (which at best is very uncertain and easily broke) have permitted, I should have been very glad to have got down into your Province; but it is now too late to think of that; and therefore I must turn my business some other way.

Give me leave, therefore, to ask you; do you not know any trusty and diligent person at Durham, that would, upon the assurance of a good reward for it, go through all the Registers of the Bishop and Church, and send an exact account of what was in them, upon such heads as should be laid particularly before them? If five or ten pounds would procure such a search, let me beg your favour to settle it for me.

The

The directions, which shall more fully be drawn out if need be, are these. First, an account of the time of meeting of every Convocation that occurs on the Registers, whether summoned by the Archbishop alone, or by him at the King's instance, and the place; with the time appointed both by King and Archbishop, where they vary; as, you know, they often have been wont to do.

Secondly, From the King's Writs and the Archbishop's Mandates concerning Subsidies, an account, where it can be had, of the *rising* of the same Convocations?

Thirdly, If any thing were done more remarkably in the Convocations, an account what it was? If any letters or instruments (that are not usual) occur in any particular instances, a copy or a particular extract of them.

Fourthly, The different forms (which in part I have) of *Procuratoria* for Parliament and Convocation; the names of the persons appointed for both, and the dates of the instruments by which they were deputed. These must be taken chiefly from the Dean and Chapter's Registers.

Of other matters, not mentioned, the titles (none omitted) of every thing relating to the Clergy in Parliament or Convocation; that so we may know whether any copies ought to be taken of them.

Could you, Sir, employ a diligent man for me at Durham to do this; it would be a mighty obligation. Nay, or could you send any body from about your parts that you could trust thither in your own name, I would content him at any rate for his care and pains. I have hinted this to the * Præcen-

* Dr. Fall; see p. 195.

tor at York, to discourse with your cousin Pearson about it. I wish that, between you, this might be ordered; for, otherwise, I doubt I must send down some person on purpose; and a very fit one I have not to send. At Durham some persons are not trusty; so that the more care must be taken if you choose (as it is most proper) one belonging to that Church for such a work.

Have not you, at Carlisle, some Registers of the Dean and Chapter, or of your own office, from whence some account may be had of the different forms and returns of proxies to our Parliaments, and to your own Convocations? If so, and you can get the use of them, a short account may be taken (if your health will permit) of them from your Church.

Dr. Hody, you hear, is printing somewhat about Convocations. Another friend of ours will (I believe) put out a short tract in answer to Mr. Atterbury this term. Your papers will soon appear: so that there will be work for him this Winter, though I go but slowly on: and I do assure you he must retract his whole book, if he means to purge away all the errors of it; for there is hardly a leaf free from exceptions in it*.

I pray God to increase your health, for the good of the publick, and to the satisfaction of your friends; among which I desire you to believe that I account it a peculiar honour to be placed, as being, with all sincere respect, honoured Sir,

Yours most affectionately,

WILL. WAKE.

I shall be in London by that time you receive this.

* See Letter 93, p. 221; and the *Notes*.

87. FROM DR. WAKE.

REVEREND SIR,

OCT. 26, 1700.

I AM now as close at work, as a large parish, an ill state of health, and everlasting disturbances, will allow. I thank God, I meet with little to discourage me; having a good conscience, and a reasonable stock of patience, to bear me out against the scurrility, and a good cause to support me against the arguing, of my adversary. That which most troubles me, is the strange confusion of the work; which indeed is so great, that I know not how to reduce it to so good an order as I could wish. I hope by Christmas to have done half my book; and that the most troublesome half too. If I have my health, I doubt not but to get to an end before Midsummer; and to have it printed before the sitting of the Winter's Parliament. This I am the rather desirous to do, because then I find it resolved, if all holds well in the publick, to have the Convocation meet; and I desire before the *House of Commons Spiritual* damns one book, that they may have another to reflect upon.

I am glad your Apology is like to come quickly out; I would have some skirmishes with our Christ-Church Hero before it comes to the main battle. What we are to have more from him before the Parliament sits, I cannot tell. Sometimes it is to be an Appendix, sometimes a Book by itself; but it is confidently said, that *name and all** are now to appear; and new correction to be given to me, as well as some to be taken to himself.

* See Letter 78, p. 182.

The wonder which I had, how an ambitious, proud man, whose conscience lies towards the same kind of Divinity that the late Bishop Parker's did, I mean that which will *keep a coach and six horses*, should appear in such a cause as this, is now at an end. The mystery of this Convocation-plot is discovered; and as a friend under confession (for the present) I will hint it to you. The Church Patriots and Commonwealth's Men have laid their heads together, for a project to render the Bishops in Parliament less dependent upon the Court, and thereby make them more true to the interests of their Country. I speak other men's language; and you must bear it as patiently as you can. The Secretary to this design was a Nonjuring Jacobite; and so H. Dodwell's principles come also into it. First then, the Convocation shall peremptorily sit with every Parliament. Whatever Bishoprick becomes vacant in the Summer, shall continue so till the Parliament meets in the Winter. Being met, the Lower House of Convocation shall agree upon six persons to be nominated to this Bishoprick: out of these the Upper House shall choose four, out of them the Archbishop two, and out of the two the King one.

There are some various readings upon this procedure; but this in general is the method; and thus the King shall be deprived at once of his right of disposing of Bishopricks, and a kind of Canonical Election be set up in the room of it. But what shall we do with the Deans and Archdeacons? for they are numerous, and will have a great stroke in the votes of the Lower House. The King must even part with the nomination of the one, and the Bishops of the other; and all come to a mob-election.

You

You see whither we are running; and what is the meaning of the Rights and liberties of the Church. If such an Act could be passed, the singular merit of Mr. Atterbury would, doubtless, give him the honour of being the *first* Bishop of the new Reformation; and then, be sure you keep up an interest in the leading men of the House, or you may, for all your other qualities, be quite undone.

I am promised, by a very great Father and Patron of our Church, to see the last scheme as designed for the Parliament in a few days; but, from this rude account, you may be able to guess at the substance of it. I have hinted somewhat of this matter to Dr. Fall*, but mentioned no particulars. When you write to Mr. Pearson, you may (in the same confidence) intrust him with the knowledge of it.

To come now to our affair at Durham; fain I would have that Church well collected; but yet be seen as little as might be in it. Is your Dean † a steady man to our cause? If he be, employ him; else you must beware of him.

The directions I would have given (for I think it will be best to hint it as done for yourself) are such as these:

First, To have nothing passed by relating to Conventions without a note what it is; that so, upon occasion, we may recur to it. These should therefore be noted; all Royal writs and Archiepiscopal mandates, to call, prorogue, or dissolve them. All writs and mandates for collecting, paying, &c. of Subsidies of the Clergy. All letters of excuse, procurations, &c. for such meeting; and

* See p. 195.

† Dr. Graham, see p. 132.

and forms (where they differ) of proxies for Parliament and Convocations ; which in your Province will often occur.

Secondly, more particularly I would desire, in all these, the dates to be very exact ; especially care taken not to mistake the day which the King names for the Convocation, as if that must be the Archbishop's too, whereas you know they often differ.

Thirdly, a careful observation how long the *Præmunitory Clause* for Parliament was executed ; what was the common form of executing of it ; and how it differed from the method of executing the Archbishop's Mandates for Convocation ?

Fourthly, where it can be recovered (as in the Writs of Subsidies it commonly may) how long each Convocation sat ; and what grants it made ? This last I would have, to compare them with those of our Province.

In short, whatever more you think needful to add, for their better direction, be pleased to do it. If your Dean will pay what is agreed for these, do you (to clear the matter) order Mr. Gibson to repay it to him here, and I will take care with Mr. Gibson about it. If that cannot be done, I will consider of some other means, by the Dean of Durham * or otherwise, to do it.

* The Hon. Dr. John Mountague, fourth son of Edward earl of Sandwich, was appointed master of Sherburn Hospital, by Bp. Crew, in 1680 ; elected master of Trinity college, Cambridge, in 1683 ; vice-chancellor of that University, 1687 ; and in that year obtained the fourth prebendal stall at Durham, and in 1692 was promoted to the eleventh stall. He was clerk of the closet to King William III. who presented him to the deanery of Durham in 1699, when he resigned the headship of Trinity college. He died unmarried Feb. 23, 1727-8, æt. 73 ; and was buried with his ancestors at Barnwell All Saints, in Northamptonshire.

Sir,

Sir, you were pleased to favour me with a short but accurate account of the Saxon Synods. When your health permits, I wish you would please only to look particularly into that part of Mr. Atterbury's book which concerns the members of these; their right of voting, &c. in council; and examine the mistakes which he may have been guilty of in that respect. One such sheet would be of great use to me, and ease me in a part where, for want of a better knowledge in the Saxon tongue, I shall otherwise appear the most defective. Take your own time; though to you, I believe, a little would suffice for such a search *.

You see, Sir, how freely I bespeak you, and with what an honest assurance I apply to you. We have a common cause, and a common affection to the serving of it. You have, by your own past kindness, encouraged me to believe that you are my friend; and, to shew you that I do believe it, I treat you as such. May I be able, on some occasion or other, to shew you, by the effects, that it is not in compliment that I subscribe myself,

Reverend Sir,

Your assured friend and obliged servant,

WILL. WAKE.

* How readily this request was complied with, may be easily seen from the Letter which Mr. Archdeacon Nicolson addressed to Dr. Kennett, which will be found at large in p. 228.

88. TO DR. WAKE.

REV. SIR,

JAN. 2, 1700-1.

UPON the receipt of your last kind letter, I immediately sent such Queries to Durham as you directed. After a long and weekly expectance, I am told, at last, "that there is nothing in their books which will give me any farther satisfaction than I have already had." In short, I am represented there as one that denied Mr. Atterbury the assistance of our books at Carlisle; and therefore (forsooth) I am to be served in my kind. Our few old Registers were indeed in my hand when that great Defender of our Discipline applied here for information: but his Correspondents being obliged to keep the matter of his enquiries concealed from me, I had no opportunity of shewing the goodness of my nature and breeding; nor had they of answering his request.

It seems he has now perfected his work, without any help from hence; and, as he owes me no thanks, so neither can I learn that I am obliged by any of his civilities. I have not yet seen his book. I hear he has laid a new load upon my Lord of Sarum. Certainly, when the Convocation meets, the Upper House will consider themselves as the persons solely invested with the rights of Judicature; and that the power of censuring such slanderous libellers is their property. They will not (surely) suffer an impudent reviler of any member of their own body to go unpunished, for fear of bringing the whole order of Episcopacy under the like contempt and ill treatment.

I can

I can hardly think that Dr. Jane* (if he is again chosen Prolocutor†) will be forward in returning thanks for this precious defence of English Convocations; since, if my understanding fails me not, the Author boldly maintains some of those scandalous propositions which the Doctor helped to condemn at Oxford in 1683. Will the same doctrine, which was then damnable and heretical, dub a man a professor at this day, and cloath him in scarlet?

I have given the book another reading; and have, as you ordered me, observed the gentleman's mistakes in the story of the Saxon times. Several of them were remarked to you formerly, and are corrected in that abstract of the Councils which I sent

* William Jane, of Christ Church, M.A. May 21, 1667; B.D. Nov. 11, 1674; canon of Christ Church July 5, of Wennington in Essex, to which he was presented by Bp. Compton, to whom he was Chaplain, Oct. 24, 1678; prebendary of Chamberlainwood, St. Paul's, June 24, D.D. July 4, treasurer of St. Paul's and archdeacon of Middlesex, Oct. 7, 1679; Regius Professor in Divinity at Oxford, May 19, 1680; dean of Gloucester June 6, 1685; chancellor of Exeter, July 3, 1702-3; præcentor of Exeter May 6, 1704; died Feb. ... 1706; and was buried in the Cathedral at Oxford, without any memorial.

† Dr. Hooper was on this occasion elected Prolocutor; and Dr. Jane, "to shew how well pleased he was with the choice," presented him to the Upper House; and made, says Atterbury, "an admirable speech, and spoke very plainly about the state of our affairs. It was both written and spoken with more life and vigour than I could have imagined Dr. Jane, under his present ill state of health, could have exerted. The Dean of Canterbury's too was extremely commended, and had several artful wipes in it. Neither of them, I believe, went very well down with the Bench to which they were addressed: but against the first of them (the Dean of Gloucester's) my Lord of Sarum declared very loudly. The Archbishop made a return to both, in a short but grave speech of his own, written exactly according to his gracious manner." See Bp. Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. I. p. 75.

P

you.

you. Some of the rest are so miserably silly, that (I fancy) he must needs have had them noted to him by some of his friends; and that they are amended in this second edition. As soon as I have had the examining in what form they now stand, you shall have an account of them. I requested the favour of Mr. Gibson to order the book to be sent me, as soon as ever it was published. And I suppose that either he or Mr. Holme (my Lady Lonsdale's chaplain) has taken that care of me; though I have not hitherto heard, from either of them, any thing to that purpose.

I heartily thank you for the receipt you gave me against a consumption; which I believe to be a very good one. I have cause to fear my days will be shortened by a far more acute distemper; that of the stone and gravel, whereof I have lately had several severe fits. As long as it pleases God to continue my life, you are sure of my being, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

89. TO DR. WAKE.

SIR,

JAN. 3, 1700-1.

TOGETHER with this, you will have a much longer Letter, directed to yourself; wherein I have endeavoured (successfully enough I hope) to throw off the aspersions which our common Adversary has cast upon me*. If you like what I have there written

* Mr. Atterbury says, "if, under a sense of injuries, I have not so tempered my pen every where, but that an hard word may now and then have escaped me, I need no excuse for it. Dr. Wake's way of dealing would, I am sure, have justified much rougher

(and can afford it room) I request your sending it abroad with your own Reply, which I shall acknowledge as a very particular favour.

I have also sent you a Catalogue of all the Saxon Synods (of any note) which I can find mentioned in our Historians; which, lying by you, may be of some small assistance when you come to consider what is objected against any thing you have said of those ages. Some little notes I have made on them in their order; which, I presume, will be enough to shew that these (at least) were *occasional Assemblies*. Your Opposer seems to me (and I think I judge him without prejudice) to have understood as little of the History of the Saxon times, as he pretends to do of their language. Besides what I have observed in his management of his war against myself, I cursorily noted some other (as I think) mistakes, in several other parts of his book.

P. 5, he thinks it clear that Archbishop Egbert's Constitutions (Spelman, p. 258) were made in a Diocesan Synod; and I think it as plain that they were only private Collections out of the Fathers, Councils, &c.

P. 31, he is (for once) of your opinion, that the Clergy and Laity in the Saxon Synods sometimes consulted separately; and I believe, against you both, that these Synods were the very same sort of Great Councils which we now call *Parliaments*: that the Ecclesiastical and Lay Members were called

rougher returns than I have made him. But whatever of this kind the Reader meets with, he may assure himself that it sprang not from any the least mixture of private prejudice, or resentment, for I have no quarrel with Dr. Wake, but on a public account. On the contrary, the good services he did against Popery inclined me always to wish well to him: or, had I wished him ill, yet I would never have taken this way of expressing it."

at the King's pleasure; that they sat together; and (as is most probable) never divided on any account whatever.

Pp. 286, 287, he produces the subscriptions of Charters, to prove the inferior Clergy part of the great Synods; as if every witness produced at the ratifying of such grants in open court (every *humilis Minister qui vocatus audivit*) were presently a Judge or a Senator.

Other small faults he has, not worth the mentioning in one who is so entirely out even in the chief matter of debate. I may, perhaps, not always apprehend him right; because neither my health nor leisure would allow me to read his book very deliberately: but, if I am not too hasty in sentencing, he writes with as little strength of argument as ever man did.

What his notion of a Convocation is, is hard to guess. For he tells us, "that the Dissenters have regular ones," p. 26; "that it is the same thing with a Provincial Synod," pp. 4, 214, 370; and he expressly (p. 18) reckons that of Canterbury his *attendant on a Parliament*. If so, I know no reason why he should be angry (as he is in his Preface, p. 3) "that the Writ for the Province of York should be dropped:" especially since Convocations are "still held" (p. 66) "by virtue of the pre-munitory clause in the Bishop's summons;" which, I can assure him, came into this Province upon the calling of the present Parliament. Nay, it should seem there is no occasion for any summons at all: for thus (p. 71) he admits the words of *more nostro solito congregati* to signify in the language of Queen Mary's Synod.

I can as little find out what kind of *attendance* it is to which the Parliament (p. 352) has a right,
and

and may challenge as due to them from the two Houses of Convocation. I would willingly have hoped that it had been in the way of our calling, as Chaplains and Confessors: but there is no room for that conjecture; for "Parliamentary Convocations" (it seems, p. 65) "meet only for civil purposes;" but what those *purposes* are, we are not informed. The House of Commons have eased us of the trouble of taxing ourselves; and, I am confident, few of them think they stand in need of our advice in the taxing of other people. We can hardly be thought proper judges of foreign commerce, nor home manufactures: so that what *civil* piece there is in us to which they have a title, I cannot imagine. I thought we had made a better figure, when assembled in Convocation, than this asserter of our Rights (as far as I apprehend him) can afford us; and I wonder much what advantage it can be to us to be exempt (if he could prove us to be so) from having our debates limited by the King's pleasure, in order to a greater vassalage of our persons to the two Houses of Parliament.

He allows, indeed, his Majesty some small share of our *attendance*; for he graciously gives him a "supremacy, which can only" (p. 207) "be exerted in Parliament." If this be good law, I cannot see how an appeal can lay from the Archbishop's Court to the King's Delegates; for I have always hitherto been of opinion, that these same Delegates were constituted Judges by virtue of the King's supremacy, and often out of Parliament-time.

As soon as I have any advices from York or Durham, you shall have a farther trouble from, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. N.

90. MR.

90. MR. ATTERBURY TO MR. NEWHEY *.

DEAR SIR, BRIDEWELL, JAN. 18, 1700-1.

UPON the receipt of yours on Monday last, I came to town immediately, and did as I was directed; procuring forms immediately, and transmitting them by the Tuesday's post to Cook. My Lord † will have some other company, I hope, in the execution of these writs, besides those his Lordship already knows of: for this day Dr. Ayloffe ‡ tells me, that he sends an opinion down to the Bishop of Oxford §, which he thinks will effectually pre-

* Thomas Newey, king's scholar at Westminster 1670; elected to Christ Church 1675; M.A. there 1682: a proctor in 1689; D.D. 1701; præcentor of the Cathedral at Exeter 1702; chancellor of that church 1706; installed prebendary of Winchester June 23, 1712. At the time of his death, May 6, 1723, he was F.R.S. and held the prebend of Winchester, the præcentorship and a canonry of Exeter, and the rectory of Wonston, Hants, which he had obtained through the friendship of Bp. Trelawny. He was buried in the cathedral at Winchester, with this inscription:

“ Hic jacet

THOMAS NEWHEY, S.T.P.

E Scholâ Westmonasteriensi
in Æde Christi Oxon. Alumnus,
Rector de Wonston,

Hujus Ecclesiæ Prebendarius,
Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Exoniensis Præcentor,
Utriusque nuper dulce decus,
Nunc triste desiderium.

Obiit 6^{to} Maii, A. D. 1723;

Ætat. suæ 66^{to}.”

† Dr. Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester.

‡ Dr. Thomas Ayloffe; afterwards (1702-3) Regius Professor of Law in the University of Cambridge, chancellor of the diocese of Oxford, and commissary and official of Bucks.

§ Dr. William Talbot.

vail

vail upon him to do it; and the Bishops of Lichfield * and Winchester † have actually done it. If the Bishop of Oxford should be tardy, the Dean has sent to Christ Church, to have the writ, in his and the Chapter's name, demanded. The same thing will be done in Peterborough diocese ‡, by the Clergy; and in Sarum §, by the Dean and Chapter, and Clergy severally.

When you come to town, you will be entertained with answers of all sorts to my book. Dr. Hody || has one just upon the point of coming out, in two thick octavo volumes, of about seventy sheets of paper, which he calls an "History of Convocations"**. Another gentleman has, by order, wrote and printed a good part of another. It is to be of about two or three hundred pages; and is to be a *first part* only ††, two more being to follow. And

* Di. John Hough, afterward Bp. of Worcester.

† Dr. Peter Mews.

‡ Dr. Richard Cumberland was Bishop of that diocese 1691—1718.

§ Where Bp. Burnet then presided.

|| Humphry, D.D. Chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, Regius professor of the Greek tongue at Oxford, and rector of Great Chart in Kent. He was instituted to the archdeaconry of Oxford in 1704; and died Jan. 20, 1706.

** "The History of English Councils and Convocations, 1701." "A short Appendix" to this book was advertized to be had *gratis*, April 17, 1701.

†† On the 4th of January, 1700-1, it was thus announced, "There will shortly be published the first part of a book, intituled, 'An Examination of both the Editions of Mr. Atterbury's Book concerning the Rights, &c. of an English Convocation.' In which the Nature of that venerable Assembly is set in a true Light, and the great mistakes made throughout that Book are laid open, Part I." On the 29th it was thus varied; "On February the 6th, the Divine Right of Convocations examined; as it

this gentleman is ordered to use me rudely, and to put as much gall as he can into his ink. Dr. Hody is to be in the meek way. The design of both is, to open the Convocation with a clamour against the book, just at the nick of its meeting; so that I shall not be able to answer. After all, Dr. Wake is to come (when the Convocation is up) with a mighty folio. Under all this threatening news, I thank God, I am in heart; and much yours and Mr. Chancellor's * humble servant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

My humble duty to my Lord.

91. FROM DR. WAKE.

REV. SIR,

JAN. 23, 1700-1.

HAVING heard by the bye that you have received the last performance of our friend Mr. Atterbury, you will now see that his Saxon History was so well settled at first, as not to be capable of any amendments. I am now on that part of it; and do fear, it is stated in Mr. Hill's Book, called *Municipium Ecclesiasticum*. In which is shewn, that he has not proved that *Jus Divinum* which he so plausibly pretends to." It appeared at length, Feb. 10, under the title of "Ecclesiastical Synods and Parliamentary Convocations in the Church of England historically stated, and justly vindicated from the Misrepresentation of Mr. Atterbury. By White Kennett, D.D." On the same day were advertised, "The Principles of Mr. Atterbury's Book [of the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation] considered; and his Arguments against Dr. Wake, and others, stated and examined."

* Dr. James.

for

for all that, that I shall be somewhat tempted to correct the *Magnificat*. All lights from you will be most welcome, but chiefly in that part wherein you are so great a master. And pray tell me, at your leisure, whether a *Folke-mote* was wont, among our ancestors, to pass for a *Wittena-Gemote*, and the common people to make a part of the Great Councils of the Realm.

I am still of opinion our Convocation will do nothing. Once it was seriously, I believe, resolved to have had me censured in both Houses of Commons, *spiritual* and *temporal*. As for the House of Peers *spiritual*, I neither fear any harm, nor expect much good from them. The one, their consciences and joint opinions with us in this case will not suffer them to do me; the other their prudence (which puts some damp upon their courage) permits me not to expect till the danger is over; and then, I fancy, I shall not need it.

Should brother Jane be our Prolocutor * (as yet he will not, but, if I guess right, the Dean of Canterbury), I do not believe that the old Republican principles would run any hazard. For every thing has its time; and a true Commons-wealth man is not so great an enemy to the Church as he was once thought to be. Yet, I am told, there is a man in the world who will ask them in print, what they think of some certain pieces and principles which were accounted Oxford Divinity some years ago; and that by some who now look the most another way.

I do not wonder at the treatment you have met with from the Church of Durham. You see, in the new Preface, how all you little Levites are rattled who

* See p. 209.

have any of you been assistant to me; and how you are brought to the stool of repentance for it. If our Postboys reach the North, you will there find a discharge ready to be made upon Mr. Atterbury. One three weeks will bring it forth; and though they are rather strictures than a full answer, yet, I hope, it will satisfy all impartial readers of the super-excellent skill of Mr. Atterbury in our English history *. About the same time the other piece I hinted to you may appear; in neither of which am I concerned, otherwise than as an humble servant to both the authors. I now even long for yours; that our brother may be kept in play till I am ready. I do all I can; but my work is large, my health but bad, and my diversions and business intolerable.

I pray God increase your health, and keep you from all acute and dangerous distempers; for, believe me, men of honesty, plainness, and courage, were never more wanting in the Church than at this time. And I account your distance from us in this respect happy, that you do not see so much of some men's conduct as we here are forced, to our sorrow, to do. Enquire not of any body what I mean, nor take any notice of it: but believe me it is as true as that I am, most sincerely, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and most obliged brother and
servant, **WILL. WAKE.**

* Bp. Burnet, as well as Dr. Wake, found reason at different periods to think and to speak in very different terms of Dr. Atterbury. In the "History of his own Times," vol. I. p. 674, Burnet ranks him "among those eminent Divines, who had distinguished themselves by their admirable defences of the Protestant Religion. This was said on occasion of Atterbury's vindication of Luther. Burnet's reflections on his conduct in the Convocation disputes bear a widely opposite aspect.

92. TO MR. ELSTOB.

SIR,

FEB. 3, 1700-1.

THE Letters I have had (from Oxford) this last year are so very few, that I can readily assure you that I have received none of yours, neither since Mr. Gibson left this country, nor for a long time before. I find some of my Correspondents, with whom I thought I had a lasting friendship, have wholly done with me. I have been at a loss to find out the reason of so sudden a change; and I now perceive, that my being contemned by the Preacher at the Rolls *, has occasioned my being likewise despised by some other persons, whom I took to be men of better learning and more religion.

Your University (in the year 1683) condemned the oppugners of the Doctrine of the King's Supremacy, as established in the Church of England; and I am much mistaken, if this gentleman has not incurred your anathema. Did the loyal Convocation of Doctors and Ministers (who made that decree) believe that any part of the Supremacy was lodged in the Parliament of England? Did it ever enter into their heads, that the Temporal Lords and Commons had a right to be *attended* by (the first State of the Realm) the whole body of the Clergy in Convocation assembled. I am of opinion, that the man who should (at that time) have dared to publish such maxims as these would have had his name in the same muster-roll with Buchanan, Milton, &c. and not have been caressed as a champion for the Church of England.

* Mr. Atterbury.

As to my own controversy, the man says he has not (himself) any skill in the Saxon tongue, in which he quarrels with me; and, in this particular, he certainly speaks a great truth. A very little skill in that tongue would have taught him that it is no *odd* expression, in the Saxon Chronicle, to call the King's Chaplain an *Hired Clerk*; no more (certainly) than it is to call Mr. Atterbury a *Court Chaplain*: and yet he wonders at the strangeness of it; believing, poor man! that *hired*, in that place, signified the being bargained for and taking of wages. Many instances of the like kind I could give you. Can the Antiquaries of Oxford think this man fit to be admired by any body besides himself?

I think to finish my Scotch Library by the beginning of April; and, in the Preface to that, I shall endeavour to wipe off the dirt which this foul-mouthed Preacher has cast upon me. I hope his discourses from the pulpit are more mannerly!

I am now providing for a journey to York, to attend our Convocation: and I know not but I may begin it this very afternoon. Besides my own capacity (as Archdeacon) I am constituted a Proxy for our Bishop, and likewise for the Chapter: a sure argument that I am not here esteemed (what Mr. Atterbury would have me thought to be) one that will *readily give up the Rights of the Established Church*. I bless God, I am above the reach of such a calumny.

Sir Christopher Musgrave* is gone to London with his two sons. His son Joseph to succeed in Parliament; educated under his father in Parliament.

When will Dr. Hickes's Grammars be ended?

Yours, &c.

W. N.

* See p. 223.

93. DR. WAKE TO DR. CHARLETT.

SIR,

FEB. 27, 1700-1.

DR. Kennett has been very kind in his defence of his Friend and the Truth *. It is but a sparring blow, and shews rather what he intends to do, than does any thing yet, in answer to Mr. Atterbury.

* The second edition of Atterbury's famous controversial volume had now been published above two months; which Dr. Kennett answered, in "Ecclesiastical Synods," &c.; and, in the Preface, declares, the Historical part of the argument, in this dispute, had been very falsely represented, and the zeal for our Church was indeed without any knowledge in the constitution of it. He charges Atterbury with great unfairness and disingenuity in the second edition of his book, in which are a vast number of material alterations in points of History and Law, not one of which he has mentioned in the Addenda, though he had professed to the world, that all the alterations of moment were contained in those separate sheets. But on this head let Atterbury be heard: "The short additional notes, together with the greater and more material enlargements, I have caused to be printed, not only in the course of this work, but together also in separate sheets; that the reader who has the first edition may have what is requisite to complete it, without going to the charge of a second. He will find, I hope, in those sheets all the alterations that are of moment: none, I am sure, are designedly omitted there, except when a change was in a few words only; and then I did not think it worth either mine or the reader's while nicely to observe it. This collection will be of use also to satisfy the curiosity of such persons as have been entertained with the discourse of many retractions which would be made in this edition of what I had advanced in the former. I do, with all the sincerity in the world, assure the reader, that I have not, after my utmost searches, found reason to alter my mind, in any one particular, upon which the stress of the cause can in the least be supposed to lie, or to retract a single principle, that I have advanced on this argument. Were I conscious of any such defect in my scheme,

Dr.

His next volume * will be more full, because every page of the Author he examines will afford new grounds for censure. The Doctor has courage enough to go on with it, and learning and experience in the cause to finish it to his own honour and the just defence of a good and much-injured hypothesis.

After this, I need not tell you, that I now press on to the end of my work. The world expects it, and Mr. Atterbury has taken effectual care to provoke me to it †. He shall have his desire; and I doubt not, when it is done, but I shall have my end. For, though truth cannot convince some men, yet it will have its weight with some men who were once deceived: and posterity will read without those designs and prejudices which now blind men's eyes, as well as steal away their affections.

I pray God send you a perfect recovery of your health, after your long and painful distemper. I am, dear Sir, your very affectionate friend and servant,
W. WAKE.

Dr. Wake should not be more forward to object it to me, than I would be to own it: for I will plead for no cause, how dear soever it may be to me, at the expence of truth; nor be ashamed to acknowledge a false step, as soon as I shall appear to have made one. Could Dr. Wake be prevailed with to engage upon these terms, the dispute between him and me would be soon ended."

* Which, I believe, never was completed. "Some remarks upon the temper of the late Writers about Convocations, particularly Dr. Wake, Dr. Kennett, and the author of Mr. Atterbury's Principles, &c.—by a Gentleman in the Country," were published May 17, 1701; and "An occasional Letter on the Subject of English Convocations" appeared on the 24th of July.

† To say the truth, the provocation seems to have been sufficiently great; not only in the Dedication, but still more so in the Preface, and in several other very severe reflections.

94. TO SIR CHRISTOPHER MUSGRAVE *.

SIR,

OCT. 20, 1701.

I VERY confidently hoped that the last address which came from our two Counties would have been the best liked of any: but it seems the Criticks have sat upon it, and they are of opinion that the words [*another pretended King*] do suppose that we think King William a *pretended one*. They are most sinfully malicious that can squeeze any such meaning out of them. Will not the idiom of the English tongue allow us to speak of *one rightful King*, and *another pretended*, in the same sentence? I am sure it will. However, to end the dispute, let but the word (*pretended*) be put in a parenthesis, and the grand accuser of mankind himself will have no room left for a cavil. Our gentlemen certainly intended to express their hearty loyalty to his Majesty in proper terms; and, if their words are thus wire-drawn, I suppose they will be more cautious how they address hereafter.

This usage, Sir, is but a sorry encouragement to a Northern author; who is just coming to town to offer a whole book (in right sterling English, as he fondly thinks) to the public censure. He has been already snarled at, in the like manner; and yet continues so fool-hardy as to go on in his way. He purposes, this very week, to wait on the Archbishop of York; and, if his Grace encourages the work, he resolves (once more) to run all hazards: if not, he will quietly return home again; and the next book he writes will be in Low Dutch.

* Sir Christopher Musgrave, Bart. governor of Carlisle, and lieutenant-general of the Ordnance; M. P. for Carlisle, 1690; for the University of Oxford, 1698; for Westmorland 1700; for Totness 1701; and for Carlisle again 1702. He was one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer in 1703; and died June 30, 1704, æt. 72.

95. FROM DR. JOHN SMITH *.

DEAR SIR,

DURHAM, JAN. 23, 1701-2.

I RETURN you my thanks for your letter, and shall take it as a great favour if you will from time to time (whilst you are in London) give me intelligence of the Convocation business. And that you may not think such a trouble altogether lost upon me, I

* This learned and eminent Antiquary was the eldest son of the Rev. William Smith, rector of Lowther in Westmorland; who, after being himself for some years the superintendant of his son's studies, was unfortunately advised to send him to Bradford, under the care of Mr. Christopher Nesse, a leading man among the Dissenters; with whom he continued two years, and lost almost all that he had learned from his father; but recovered it again under Mr. Thomas Lawson, a Quaker, who was a favourer of learning, an excellent school-master, and grounded Smith well in the learned languages. An early foundation in classical learning being thus raised, his father conceived thoughts of sending him to an University. The nearness of the place, and the company of a young student who was going thither, recommended Glasgow; and the day was fixed for the journey; but it proved so rainy and tempestuous a season, that his father would not venture him from home: and the family, it is said, always looked upon this as a providential escape from the Scottish religion, to which his intended companion was made a proselyte. Oxford was now thought of; two sons of a neighbour going at that time to St. John's college in Cambridge, Smith's father yielded to the great desire of his son to go with them. He was admitted of St. John's college in 1674; where he took the degree of B.A. in 1680; and afterwards went into orders. He was admitted a minor canon of the church of Durham, July 20, 1682; and had the office of Precentor. He was appointed to Croxdale curacy, July 20, 1683; and to Witton-Gilbert curacy (being then M.A.) July 1, 1684. In 1686, he went abroad as chaplain to Lord Lansdown, when his Lordship was made ambassador-extraordinary to the Court of Spain; and, after his return home, which was soon after the Revolution, was made domestic chaplain to Dr. Crew, bishop of Durham; collated to Gateshead

assure you, I shall employ it to your service here. Your last gave me an opportunity of setting you

Gateshead rectory and hospital June 12, 1695; and on the 26th of September was installed a prebendary of Durham, being the only instance of ascending from a Minor Canon's seat to a Prebend. He took the degree of D.D. in July 1696; and July 28, 1704, having resigned Gateshead, was presented by the bishop to the rectory of his own parish, Bishop's-Weremouth; when he repaired and altered his prebendal house at the cost of 200 *l.* and expended 200 *l.* in repairs of the chancel at Weremouth. He rebuilt the parsonage-house at no less cost than 600 *l.* receiving of Dr. Grey's executors for dilapidations not above 100 *l.*; and in his asserting and recovering the rights of that church he expended 600 *l.* notwithstanding which he died rich; and left a considerable estate to his eldest son George. He had 4500 *l.* portion with his wife, and got 1100 *l.* for the colliery of Prior Close, part of the corps land of his prebend, of which he let a lease: and in personal and real estate he died possessed of upwards of 15,000 *l.* He was a man of abilities and learning, and particularly versed in Northern literature, and in antiquities. He died July 30, 1715, at Cambridge, where he had been for some time, in order to finish his edition of Bede; and was buried in St. John's college chapel, where a monument was erected for him, with the following inscription, written by his learned friend Mr. Thomas Baker, then Fellow of that College:

“ M. S.

JOHANNIS SMITH, S.T.P.

Lowtheriæ in agro Westmariensi nati;

qui juvenis

in hoc celeberrimum Collegium cooptatus est;

ubi bonis moribus informatus, et ingenuis artibus

eruditus, ejusdem Collegii decus

totiusque Ecclesiæ ornamentum evasit:

quem

mira facilitas morum et elegantia, comitati

adjuncta semper gravitas, animi candor et modestia ornatum;

ingenii fœcunditas, acumen judicii, memoriæ vigor,

in re literariâ promovendâ fatalis industria doctum;

in adversis rebus animi magnitudo, in secundis

continentia, in Deum denique suosque singularis pietas

optimum, fuisse demonstrarunt.

right in the esteem of one whose opinion (though you be of a hardy constitution), I believe you would not despise. And since our late controversies do run so much upon an argument *ab Invidia ductum*, I think it a duty to friendship to take care of the reputation of those whom I wish well to, in them.

Ob hæc merita,
 quibus honoratissimi et reverendi admodum Episcopi
 gratiam sibi conciliavit, in numerum Canonorum
 Dunelmensium prius adscitus, dein in Ecclesiam
 Weremuthæ Ep'i parochialem promotus est.
 Hisce sacerdotiis honestis auctus, ea non minus dignè,
 quàm ipsa illum, exornavit.
 Antiqua ecclesiæ jura et privilegia nemo fortiùs defendit.
 Eloquentiam cum Theologiâ, omnesque
 bonas artes cum sacris literis adeo conjunxit;
 ut Orator copiosus, Philologus eximius, Theologus
 absolutus, meritò audirèt.
 In Historicis, Anglicis præsertim, evolvendis
 fuit maximè assiduus; advertensque animum
 quod polita venerabilis BÆDÆ Operum
 Historicorum desideraretur editio, id laboris
 à nullo potius quàm à Canonico Dunelm. BÆDÆ
 sc't compresbytero et populari, subeundum duxit:
 Huic igitur muneri se accinxit! sed, proh dolor!
 dum non vulgari studio prelo insudaret;
 morte in medio opere immaturâ præreptus est:
 et intra sacram hujus Collegii ædem, cujus in gremio se
 nutritum non sine piâ voluptate sæpius jactavit,
 humatus est.

Natus anno D'ni 1659;

obiit 30 Julii, 1715."

At the time of his death he was printing a very excellent and correct edition of Bede's Works, the preparing of which cost him fourteen years' labour; which, according to his own directions, was published by his son George Smith, Esq. some time of the Inner Temple (a Nonjuror, and said to be nominal Bishop of Durham with that Society), who afterwards lived at Burnhall near Durham. Dr. Smith published three single Sermons. He had also made some progress in writing the Antiquities of Durham;

I shall be glad to see your *Scotch Library*; which, when you do me the favour to send, I desire you will put it into Mr. Churchill's * packet, which he sends to our bookseller, only directed to me; for in the common way of the carriers, otherwise, things do not come to hand so certainly, nor so readily.

Mr. Dean of York † tells me, that, when he was at London last Spring, he saw for a *Magna Charta*, in Sir John Cotton's Library, a large sheet of vellum, pasted into a very large Church Book of Songs, which he believes is an original, found in some

ham; for which undertaking, Bishop Nicolson observes, he was the most proper person. He furnished Mr. Gibson with the additions to the Bishoprick of Durham, which are inserted by that prelate in the second edition of Camden's *Britannia*. See Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. II. p. 198: from Grey's MS Notes.

* “Awnsham and John Churchill, two booksellers (and brothers) of an universal wholesale trade. I traded very considerably with them for several years, and must do them the justice to say that I was never concerned with any persons more exact in their accounts and more just in their payments. They are both so well furnished for any great undertaking, that what they have hitherto proposed, they have gone through, with great honour to themselves, and satisfaction to Subscribers; of which their printing “*Camden's Britannia*,” and the publication of “*A New Collection of Travels*” lately come abroad, are undeniable instances. Sir Richard Blackmore's “*Poetical Works*,” and Mr. Locke's *Essay*, have received no small advantage by coming abroad through their hands; and, to finish their characters, they never starve an undertaking to save charges. In the *New Collection of Travels*, before mentioned, though they make about a hundred and fifty sheets (and fifty cuts) more than was promised, yet they ask their subscribers no advance.” *Dunton's Life and Errors*, p. 280.—Awnsham Churchill, having very honourably acquired an ample fortune, was elected M. P. for Dorchester 1705—1710.—*William Churchill*, bookseller, married a daughter of Abp. Wake, Feb. 19, 1716-19.

† Dr. Gale; of whom see before, p. 40.

monastery. But Sir William Dugdale told him he had seen in that Library that which was sealed at Running Mead. I take it for granted you will see the inside of that Library. If you have leisure, enquire a little about it. I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

J. SMITH.

94. TO DR. KENNETT*.

SIR,

[1701-2.]

YOU will be the only person that will wonder at this unexpected address; since every other good member of our Church must be truly sensible how far your late powerful defence of our Establishment (against the pernicious tenets of some forward projectors) has merited a public return of our thanks: and the kind concern you have been pleased to express for my particular share, in the common cause of our sufferings, obliges me to the most early acknowledgment. You have let the world know how unjust some of Mr. Atterbury's slanders are, and what dishonest care he has taken (in the *second edition* of his book) to palliate others; wherein even his own conscience had discovered the injuries he had done me. I have reason to believe that his former edition is in more hands than the latter, and

* This article was printed in 1702, under the title of "A Letter to the Reverend White Kennett, D.D. in Defence of the English Historical Library, against the unmannerly and slanderous Objections of Mr. Francis Atterbury, Preacher at the Rolls, in his New Theory of the Rights, Powers, and Privileges, of an English Convocation. By W. Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle."

there-

therefore shall confine myself, in this Reply, to that; leaving his new insults to live or die, at the discretion of his readers.

The first Part of the *English Historical Library* met with an acceptance so far exceeding my hopes, that I hastily threw the rest of my Notes together, in a full and confident assurance, that, whatever their fate might be amongst the Wits and Banterers of the age, the design would so far recommend itself to men of gravity and good learning, as to invite some of them to finish what I had so imperfectly begun: and therefore, to be accosted in such a blustering and surly manner, as I have been, by a Clergyman, a Preacher at the Rolls, and a Chaplain in Ordinary, was, I confess, very surprizing. I have often sensibly reflected on the unhappy coarseness of style and behaviour, to which we Country Parsons, as they call us, are inevitably condemned: but, surely (thought I) the Divines at Court, all of them, to a man, are persons of a more polished and smooth demeanor. This, I now find, is a mistake; and it is indeed the greatest which Mr. Atterbury has discovered to me. I was also abundantly conscious (no man more!) of the many other inconvenient circumstances I laboured under; and, with as much modesty and humility as I am master of, begged the assistance of others, more fortunate and able than myself. Such helps, as I sought for, have been generously afforded me by several of the greatest eminence in our Church and State; whose obliging encouragements have raised me above the impotent malice of any such pert and pedling retailer of another man's Collections, as Mr. Atterbury has shewn himself to be. What he has handed out to
the

the world, relating to me and my works, I shall examine in the same order he gives it ; leaving the grosser blunders of his book to the due chastisement of those greater men, with whom he has done me the honour to bespatter me.

The first glance of favour that I have from him is pretty early, towards the beginning of his Preface ; where he gives his reader a chronological account of the advances made towards the destruction of the Established Church, since the publishing of Dr. Wake's dangerous book. The Dissenting Ministers in London, as he proves from the authentic evidence of a notable letter, have had their General Meeting, and the Non-conformists in Dublin have opened their Synod with a Sermon : nay, and to complete our ruin, " A new Definition of Convocations has obtained ; which, we are now told, are only Occasional Assemblies, &c." For a proof of this last (crowning) mischief, he refers to my Historical Library. I have not been accustomed to herd with such companions as he there assigns me ; yet, since he will have it so, let me reason the case a little with him, on the behalf of my new friends. He ought certainly to have registered the Dublin Sermon in his Appendix : for it must be a very sorry one, if it is not more edifying, and more to his purpose, than the Newbury Letter. Nor has he dealt fairly with this Berkshire Epistle, whereof he has printed a very faulty copy. I once saw a transcript of this famous record, in the hand of a very worthy Member of Parliament, in the County of Cumberland, to whom it was communicated by an eminent Divine of our Church, whose usual place of residence is in Berkshire, and not far from Newbury. His
sending

sending it thither was supposed to be with a design of having it considered in the approaching session, as a matter of terrible consequence; and therefore, we may assure ourselves, all imaginable care was taken to have the wicked instrument most exactly copied. There the settled correspondence of the Dissenting Congregations was declared to be “for the advancement of the interest of Religion, and Reformation of Manners;” the same good end, which some Committees of Ministers and Gentlemen, in our own Communion, have proposed to themselves: whereas this printed letter sets up for *the Reformation of Ministers*; which looks like a plot of another fashion, and may end the Lord knows where. So much in justice to my brethren of the Separation: let me now look to myself. If the reader happens to consult that part of my book to which he directs him, he will find that this *new Definition* is none of mine; but that it was drawn up by the late admirable Bishop Stillingfleet, to whose deep learning and exact judgment this Church stands eternally indebted. Hereby he will unluckily discover, that the definition is not so *new* as Mr. Atterbury (for some special purposes of his own) has represented it; and that a Charge, given in 1696, could hardly be filched out of a book printed in 1697, and so much posted to the press, as (I am pretty well assured) that of Dr. Wake’s was. But (besides this inconvenience) he will also presently consider, that the Bishop was one of that established reputation, that it was hazardous to attack him openly; at least, it was by no means adviseable to do it here in the beginning of his book, because the thwarting with so great a man, at the very entrance, might disgust his

his reader, and prejudice him against all that was to follow. For these weighty reasons, the whole load of his indignation (for the present) rests upon me; though, as soon as he shall, in four or five of his first chapters, let the world know what a mighty man he is at syllogism and dint of argument, his Lordship's friends shall find that his works will be considered as roughly (and with as little ceremony) as those of meaner men.

The next jerk he gives me, is (Pref. vii.) for relying too *implicitly* upon Spelman's Glossary, and on the credit of the posthumous part of that book, mistaking the third year of King James the First, for the seventh, in the momentous history of a Dictionary. The error here is of no fatal consequence, that I know of; and I told the world, as he tells it after me, whence I had the account: but from hence to conclude that I *never saw any edition of Cowel's Interpreter*, is arguing according to his wonted exactness in logick. I might as well affirm that he never saw a Common Prayer Book, because (p. 275) he cites the second Collect, in the service of the fifth of November, instead of the first. Such a trip as this I should willingly have over-looked and pardoned; but it is so parallel to that of mine, that he will forgive the taking this slight notice of it; especially since it may remind a man of his new and curious interpretation of the word *Clergy* in that prayer; which, he says, means the whole Ecclesiastical State (both *Upper* and *Lower* House of Convocation) then assembled in Parliament. This is a notable remark indeed, and proves that the Conspirators villainously designed to blow up St. Paul's Church as well as St. Stephen's Chapel; a secret
not

not formerly discovered. He raises another special inference from the fore-mentioned mistaken date, which is, that I am *always an implicit transcriber*. I find, by his Errata, that the word *always* (when he speaks of my Lord of Sarum) signifies *often* and *sometimes*; and for his own sake as well as mine, I would beg the benefit of that interpretation here; for otherwise the expression looks a little too hasty and round, to be consistent with that staunch gravity and veracity, which the world expects in a Church-Advocate and a Preacher. Now, admitting this signification of the word, I may as justly assert that Mr. Atterbury is *always* in an error; since it has been made very plain of late, that *sometimes* and very *often* he is so. *Implicit* is his darling epithet. It is ever in readiness for any man that steps in his way; and I am content to take my share of it, where-ever he pleases to assign it me. I cannot so easily allow it upon some other occasions; as when he affirms that the Provincial Synod of York is obliged *implicitly* to follow the determinations of that of Canterbury *. The author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (whom he acknowledges to have *best understood our Constitution* †) tells us, “that in the third year of King Henry the First’s reign, the Clergy at York unanimously rejected Archbishop Anselm’s Synodical Constitutions: and the issue is very remarkable; for hereupon *statim spretæ atque contemptæ fuerunt* ‡. I could give some other instances, wherein it appears that we have not been *always implicit transcribers* of the copy set us by our bre-

* Rights, &c. p. 46, 339.

† Ibid. p. 342.

‡ Antiquitat. Brit. Edit. Hanov. p. 119.

thren of Canterbury : but, as I hope never to see any clashing betwixt the two Provinces for the future, so neither do I take any pleasure in recounting the disputes that have happened heretofore.

After these light skirmishes, out comes his declaration of war ; which, to keep me in my calling, and to preserve it for a precedent to future generations, I shall here *implicitly transcribe*. “ There is a third gentleman (Mr. Nicolson by name, says the margin) who in a late book of his has taken upon him to be a kind of Umpire in this controversy. By what secret motive he was invited to undertake this office, he best knows ; sure I am it was not out of any peculiar skill or ability he had to discharge it. Since he has gone out of his way, to mix in a dispute that did not belong to him, he must excuse me, if I have not gone out of mine, to avoid seeing his mistakes ; which I have taken notice of no otherwise, than as the course of my reflections, and the particular matter I was upon, led me to observe them : and even at this rate, the crop of errors was plentiful.” This were a most terrible and astonishing charge, were there as much real truth in it, as there is seeming bravery : but, to my great comfort, it wholly wants that most formidable ingredient ; for, first, I did not *take upon me to be an Umpire in the Controversy*, having only given my reader the decision of it in the words of a most religious, learned, and venerable Father in God ; who (besides his other excellencies so well known) was a skilful Canonist, an able Civilian, and particularly knowing in the constitution of our Church *. All that I ventured to

* See the Narrative of the Proceedings in the late Lower House of Convocation, p. 39.

advance of my own thoughts was, that “the controversy had been managed with somewhat of an unbecoming bitterness and zeal.” And I wish that the Preacher had given me any reason to hope, that what followed would be in a better temper. Secondly, I was not under the influence of any such *secret motives* as he here uncharitably suggests. I thankfully adore the Divine Providence for giving me my lot in my native country; where, for twenty years past, I have lived in a reputation, out of which he can never write me*; and have contented myself with preferments of an humble and modest value, into which he will never desire to write himself. But, thirdly, supposing I had been that bold Undertaker he speaks of, he can never be sure that I want either skill or ability to discharge the office, since I am much surer, that he is no such competent judge of my parts, temper, and principles, as he pretends to be. No, no. The man that quotes Gervase of Dover in words at length, that thinks an Hired Clerk (though it signifies neither more nor less than a Court Chaplain) an odd expression in the Saxon Chronicle, &c. may brush up his eyebrows as high as he pleases; but he is not (at all) that sure man that he takes himself to be, in matters of English History and Antiquities. And, fourthly, how is it (can you imagine, Sir) that I have *gone out of my way* in what I have written on this subject? Ought I not to have mentioned the Convocation amongst our other Ecclesiastical Courts? Are there no memoirs here that may be of any use to an English Historian? If there be any such, (as, it is hoped, his immortal Book will be an ever-

* See Mr. Atterbury's Preface, towards the end.

lasting testimony that there are) I cannot see how I came to be beside my road, when I treated of the nature and constitution of this Court. And, lastly, is he likewise *sure*, that he will keep *his* road better than I have done *mine*? will he never "take notice of my (supposed) mistakes any otherwise than as the course of his Reflections, and the particular matter he is upon, leads him to observe them?" Before he and I part, I shall convince him of the slackness of his memory in this point; and, in order to it, shall here briefly assure you, Sir, that after all the pains he has taken, both *in* his way and *out* of it, which truly I know not well how to distinguish, he has reaped no such *plentiful crop of errors* in my books, as he vainly imagines. For example:

Page 18. He leeringly produces a passage, wherein I maintain, that the Convocations were heretofore "frequently inhibited, even in the very Writs of Summons, from decreeing any thing to the prejudice of the King or his Realms." These indeed are my very words; and I do refer my reader, for a proof of them, to Dugdale's Summons in the reigns of Edward the First and his Son; "where," says Mr. Atterbury, "there is not a word to this purpose, nor can there be; for Dugdale has no Writs for Convocations, but only for the Parliament." To this I can as boldly reply; Sir William Dugdale, in his book of Summons, has a great many Writs for Convocations; and in several of these, within the reigns mentioned, there are such inhibitions as I speak of. To try this issue fairly, I must desire Mr. Atterbury to remember, that, from my great authority, I have told him that there are "some Convocations that are called by the King's
Writ

Writ to the Bishops as Members of Parliament;" which he is so far from reckoning a mistake, that he chiefly proves the right of all his own Convocations to a stated time of sitting, from these very Writs. Nay, he is so much in love with the clause of *Præmunientes*, that he produces the opinions of Council, to avouch that this alone is warrant enough for the Members of our present Convocations to meet and assemble themselves at the opening of every new Parliament; so that he must necessarily agree with me, that, though Dugdale has no Provincial Writs, yet he has given us good store of the other kind, which, upon his own principles, are as properly Writs for the Convocation as for the Parliament. I must take a little more pains to clear his understanding in the other particular; because the inhibitions that are couched in many of these Writs are not so easily discoverable by a writer in so much heat and hurry as he seems to be. He must know then, that Edward the First was forced from his wars in France, by the treachery of Archbishop Winchelsey*; who, under the pretence of redressing grievances, and easing the country of their heavy taxes, had animated the populace against their sovereign: and some of our Historians say, that at the same time this King took the advantage of something like a *Præmunire*, into which the Clergy had fallen by a too close adherence to the measures prescribed them by that Archbishop. Take the account in the words of my author†: "Rex Edwardus fecit saisiri omnia temporalia clericorum, eximens eos à protectione suâ, quod anno præce-

* Antiq. Brit. p. 204.

† Tho. Wikes, ad ann. 1298.

denti nollent eum respicere de bonis suis contra Scottos: nam Robertus archiepiscopus de consensu cleri procuraverat à Papâ inhibitionem, ne quis clericorum regem respiceret de bonis suis, unde & plures prælatorium timore coacti protectionem regiam quæ-siverunt." The King, having the Churchmen thus in the like condition wherein they were afterwards caught by Henry the Eighth, thought it convenient to take this opportunity, as King Henry likewise did, of hampering them in their debates, and confining them to such matters as he thought proper to lay before them: whereupon, the year following, their Writs of Summons were altered; for whereas they formerly ran in general terms ["super diversis & arduis negotiis vobiscum colloquium & tractum habere volumus"] the style was now a great deal more strict and limiting, "propter quædam specialia & ardua negotia——vobiscum speciale (or sometimes specialiter) colloquium habere volumus*." Now this gentleman's learned acquaintance in the Inns of Court will tell him, that the word *specially*, in our law proceedings, signifies all one as *particularly*, or, if he pleases, *individually*; and therefore the Prince who calls upon his Great Council on some *special* occasion, or to advise with them *specially*, fore-closes their straying into debates of a foreign nature: and this, with his gracious allowance, I would make bold to call an *inhibition*; which is much more frequently to be found in the *belly of a Convocation Writ*, as he prettily words it, than he imagined. I confess the word *specially* occurs in the Writs directed to the Temporal Lords of those

* Dugdale Summons, 27 Edw. I. p. 24, 28 Edw. I. p. 26, &c. and 1 Edw. II. p. 57, 2 Edw. II. p. 56.

times,

times, as well as in these that summon the Clergy: and I have great authorities for it, that this proves that *they* were likewise limited in their debates. I could here fill my margin with quotations: but I shall content myself with a single writer, who, for several reasons, ought to be had in great veneration by this *Preacher*. It is Dr. Peter Heylin *, of happy memory, who allows that the expression in the Parliamentary Writs [ad tractand. super quibusdam arduis regni negotiis] limits and restrains their debates to such particular cases as the King thinks fit to consult them upon. Thus, Sir, have I once more acquainted him whence I drew this *curious remark*, as he sportingly calls it: nor can I think there will be any occasion to alter one word in this passage, upon a second edition of my book; which his little splenetic reflections will never be able to prevent.

Page 31. He tells you, “that I do not seem to have considered that the mixed meetings held by the Saxon Kings were stiled Synodi and Concilia,” because, in my notes on Camden’s Northumberland, I assert “the meeting at Twiford, in which St. Cuthbert was chosen Bishop, to have been no Synod, but a Parliament.” It is much I should *not consider* this, when I there particularly refer the reader to King Ælfred’s translation of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, wherein that meeting has no other name given it than *Sinoth*. But though this was a proper name for it in the days of Bede, and his Royal Paraphrast, I think the word *Parliament* suits better with the language of Mr. Camden’s time and

* Advertisement on Sanderson’s Life of King James the First, p. 24.

mine; and therefore I humbly offer it, as an amendment of my author's text, to put in a word of modern use, instead of one now obsolete, as to the true meaning and import there intended. I have many things to add to the short account which I give of this matter in my notes on the *Britannia*: I shall now only need to observe, that the original manuscript of the Legend of St. Cuthbert, an exact copy whereof I have, by the favour of the worthy and famous Mr. Evelyn *, acquaints us that King Egfrid was at that time *attended both with the lords temporal and spiritual*: which, I presume, will go a great way towards the making it a *parliamentary* meeting. After all, let Sir Henry Spelman himself be my advocate in this cause: "Licet enim," says he, "Σύνοδος concilium sonat, & conventum tam secularium quam ecclesiasticorum, & ipsarum etiam aliquando fœminarum; obtinuit tamen usus vulgaris, cum apud recentiores, tum apud veteres, ut de ecclesiasticarum comitiis plerumque censeretur †."

Page 148, 149. He observes that I follow Dr. Wake in the story of Henry the Eighth's correcting the Articles. By *following* here he does not mean, as some of his readers may rashly suppose, that I take this upon the Doctor's authority; but only that *my book* was penned, or published, after *his*: which, for several reasons that might be alledged, is most demonstrably true. That his words are thus, and no otherwise to be expounded, is very plain; for the Doctor, it seems, had his tale from my Lord of Salisbury; and I have mine, as the Critick himself confesses, from my Lord Herbert. Mr. Atterbury has transcribed my Lord Herbert's words, as I have

* See p. 137.

† Concilia, tom. I. p. 529.

done; and I cannot, for my life, see but that I have done it fairly, and that the authority in this case cited is to be depended on. He is indeed wonderfully well disposed towards the writing *animadversions* on my books, but his power is never answerable to his good will.

Page 179. How the word *defence* came to be printed in my book, instead of *doctrine*, I cannot tell: but I am very sure that the title of the book here mentioned stands right in my first collections, "A Necessary Doctrine," &c.; and I am very confident it was likewise so in that transcript of my papers which I sent to the bookseller. By his own accurate work it appears, that as great slips as this may escape, where authors are much nearer the press than I was. But the main of my crime is, that I have asserted that the King *drew up the articles* in this book, without *intimating my dislike of it*, or letting the world know that what he did in this matter was at the previous permission of the Clergy, by whom it was afterwards confirmed in Convocation. The first branch of this charge is *false*; the second, *scandalous* and *saucy*; and the third *nonsense*. I say not a word of the King's *drawing up* these articles; observing only that he wrote *animadversions* upon them, which the Preacher calls *making some marginal amendments*; and if he is better pleased with that mode of expressing himself, he is welcome to let mine alone. What had I to do to *intimate any dislike* of the King's thus meddling in affairs of an ecclesiastical nature? If indeed I had *disliked* it, which I could see no cause for, it had been an impudent digression to have published such a sentiment. Yea, but (like an *unaccurate*

Historical Librarian, as I am) I take no manner of notice of the King's doing all this *at the previous permission of the Clergy*. No indeed, Sir, I do not; nor can I yet imagine why I should: for (besides that the being thus minutely circumstantial is more the business of an *Historian* than an *Historical Librarian*) I cannot well apprehend how the Clergy's "humble submission of the book" (to speak in its own language) "to his Majesty's most excellent wisdom and exact judgment, to be recognized, overseen, and corrected," &c. is consistent with their authoritative *permission* of him to make his alterations.

Page 214. He resumes the debate about the *new definition* of a Convocation; and peevishly remarks, that I am only a *little* author, that has copied this out of a *great one*. I very heartily acknowledge myself to be extremely *little*, and even of no consideration, when compared with so truly *great* a man as the late learned Bishop Stillingfleet: but the *greater* he was, and the *less* I am, the weightier must the reasons be that induce me tacitly to submit to his judgment and determination of the controversy now before us. I also thought it most agreeable to the nature of the best and purest General Councils, which (as is observed by Richerius *) dispatched their debates most readily and peaceably, whilst they continued under the direction of the civil powers. But our Animadverter is of a less pliable temper; and therefore, "let the definition come from what hand it will, he must be bold to say that it is unskilfully drawn." To the no small satisfaction of his adversaries, his *skill* is not pro-

* Hist. Concil. Gen. Lib. 1. Cap. Sec. 17.

portionable to his *boldness*; for though he has courage enough to *say* any thing that comes in his head, he commonly wants the art of *proving* what he confidently and bravely asserts. Well; but what is that exact and logical definition which he will oblige us with, in lieu of this clumsy one of the Bishop's? Why, it is this: "A Convocation is a stated Provincial Synod, attendant on a Parliament;" and by the commentaries he gives on it in the other parts of his book, that venerable Assembly appears (all over) in such a disguise as I should never have known it in. I shall not here nicely examine how *skilfully* or *unskilfully* this *newest definition* is drawn; but, leaving that point to be canvassed by his *principal* antagonist, shall only freely declare that I am still for abiding by my Lord of Worcester's, which I take to be both *older* and *better*. I am sensible this is a sure way to continue under the Preacher's displeasure, he having (*ex mero motu*) let mankind know that he "cannot, *for* his heart, like" such as are of that persuasion: "for he remembers well that those were thought thoroughly honest by neither side, who were for Occasional Communion." What a strenuous and invincible *for* have we here? What (in the name of goodness!) have the *Occasional Communion*s of Dissenters to do with the *Occasional Meetings* of the Established Clergy? Must every *occasional* man and thing be reprobated? I may possibly as little approve of those *Occasional Communion*s as himself; and yet I cannot, for *my* heart, dislike *occasional* eating and drinking, when I am hungry and thirsty, without waiting for the *stated* times of dinner and supper.

Page 274. He abuses Sir Henry Spelman, his reader, and me, in putting the words [*coram Episcopo & in Synodali Conventu*] together; as if the *Synodalis Conventus* (in the cited part of the Glossary) were only to be understood of the County Court, or some such other little mixed assembly, where the Bishops sometimes sat: whereas Sir Henry, having first mentioned the ratifying of grants “*coram Domino Manerii, coram Domino Hundredi,*” and “*coram Vice-comite,*” presently adds—“*Solebant præterea, in conferendis prædiis Ecclesiæ, chartam sæpius ad Altare, &c. sæpius utique in Conventu Synodali ratam facere;*” which must necessarily be understood of so many several Courts, wherein these matters were transacted, *and after the two jurisdictions were completely separated*: for the learned author manifestly distinguishes what was done *coram Synodali Conventu*, from what was acted *coram Rege & Paribus Regni, &c.*

Page 291, 292, &c. For four pages together, he is in great fury with me, for carrying the jurisdiction of English Archdeacons no higher than the Conquest; which is a fault, whereof (after all the correction that he has given me) I do not yet find any occasion to repent. I cite a good authority, asserting that it is no elder; and he saucily observes that the learned Bishop (to whom I appeal) published this *in favour to his one order*, adding also (very constantly, and like himself) that it was a *slip of his memory*. But—are his Saxon testimonies, in this case, preferable to that of my *partial and crazed* Bishop? I trow not. There is not a word of these Ecclesiastical Judges, or their Courts, in all Lambarde's

barde's laws; nor even in those of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by the Conqueror. Nor is it possible there should be; for we know very well, that, throughout the Saxon times, the Bishops sat personally in the Court, with the Sheriff and other great men of their Dioceses*; they visited yearly in their own persons†, and never (as far as I could yet learn) acted by any sort of deputies or officials. Mr. Atterbury indeed produces a few insignificant and counterfeit records, some of which seem to come up to his point; and, to multiply his witnesses into a fairer appearance of strength in their numbers, he refers his reader to the *Decem Scriptores*, and Spelman's Councils, for one and the same testimony. Spelman says, he met with several copies of that instrument, for which (as if it were some new matter) the learned Preacher will needs send us to the *evidences of Canterbury*, or *Dover*; and he gives us one of them, wherein the pretended Archdeacon (Wilfrid) is modestly placed in the rear of the subscribing Bishops; whereas, in the impertinent evidences of this great *Patron of our Synodal Church*, he takes his place in the very middle of the Prelates‡; a freedom which some late writers would persuade us to believe that even the Archdeacons of our own age have a title to. This venerable decree is said to be enacted at Beaconceld, in the year 798; but we meet with it afterwards in a finer form at Cloveshoe§; where the ingenious Monk, who new modeled it, has set the Archbishop and his

* Vid. LL. Hen. I. cap. 7.

† Constit. Odoni Archiep. apud Spelm. Concil. tom. I. p. 416.

‡ Conf. Spelm. tom. I. p. 318, cum Evident. Cant. col. 2212.

§ Spelman, tom. I. p. 325.

Suffragans in their proper order; assigning each of them a train of Abbats and Priests, who are supposed (forsooth) to attend them to the Synod from their respective Dioceses. In the close of some of these lists we have here and there an humble Deacon; but because it was fit that the Metropolitans should outshine the rest, the courtly compiler of his famous *evidence* has kindly dubbed his an Arch-deacon; and it was in his power to have likewise surrounded him with Arch-Abbats and Arch-Priests. Sir Henry Spelman was wiser than to draw any such conclusions as Mr. Atterbury has done, from any Canons in either of these Councils; and he would (especially) have been ashamed to have produced these ill-contrived decrees (wherein we have the subscriptions of so many Bishops, who, we are sure, were not contemporaries) as authentic evidence. The credit of the Northymbrian Presbyters runs as low. The learned Publisher of their laws confesses, they are of a stricter kind than were in force any where else in England, at that time; and that he cannot tell who compiled them *. He thinks it, indeed, not altogether unlikely that they might be drawn up by Abp. Oswald, “*qui, pro severitate,*” says he, “*quâ in Romanis efferbuit canonibus observandis, istas noviter censeatur induxisse:*” and as to any other constitutions of St. Dunstan and St. Oswald, that are or can be alledged in this case, I shall only observe that they were too zealous attempters of bringing in the Roman discipline into the English Church †; and that, therefore, they

* Spelman, tom. I. p. 502.

† Vid. Spelman, Concil. tom. I. p. 502. C. H. Whart. Npt. in Osbern. A. S. vol. II. p. 111.

(or their worshipers, the Monks) framed their Canons in such a manner as they desired to have them obeyed, and not as they were (in truth) submitted to. It was great goodness in the Preacher, not to produce Abp. Egbert's Collections (which he calls *English Constitutions, made in the middle of the eighth century* *) to prove the yet greater antiquity of our archidiaconal jurisdiction †. Did he know (it is verily believed he did not) that some of these were of a later date than is pretended ‡? And does he not know that the Northymbrian Canons are likewise younger than they seem to be, and borrowed from abroad, being only dressed up (*à la mode d'Anglois*) with Saxon penalties and mulcts? If he does not, let him have a little patience, till I am at leisure to give him the remainder of my insipid notes on Northumberland; and I dare engage he will be prevailed on to believe that both of them are of an equal authority. I am still of opinion (with humble submission, Sir, to yourself and other better judges than I am) that no Archdeacon ever exercised any jurisdiction in England, till some time after the Conquest; that is, till the Canon Law was established here. That and the Feudal Law are about the same age with us; and as this made great changes in the Civil Government, so did the other in the Ecclesiastical. The first institution possibly of an Archdeacon, in the diocese of Canterbury, is recorded in an old instrument of the "*Monasticon Anglicanum*," where we are told of Archbishop Lanfranc's refusal to consecrate a new Bishop of St.

* Rights, &c. p. 5.

† Vid. Excerpt. Egbert. 105.

‡ See Burnet's History of Rights of Princes, &c. p. 140.

Martin's (in the suburbs of Canterbury) "aiens quod in unâ Civitate duo Episcopi minimè esse deberent, &c. Novus enim homo, & necdum Consuetudinem Patriæ vel Dignitatem Dorobornensis Ecclesiæ edoctus, antiquum antecessorum suorum morem in hâc parte sequi supersedit; ipsum igitur non subrogavit, sed loco Episcopi quendam Clericum suum Archidiaconum ordinavit, quod se fecisse ante mortem suam vehementer indoluit. Archidiaconus ergò constitutus curam super Clericos Archiepiscopi intendebat, &c.*" Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop of York, was the man who divided that Diocese into Archdeaconries †; and Durandus, in his time, is the first Archdeacon of York that I ever heard of. There may be forty old copies of the Conqueror's order against the Bishops mixing jurisdiction with the Sheriffs, which I have not seen; since in all ages, from that time to this, it has been a pretty common practice *to transcribe those who had transcribed others*; but neither will this so effectually prove his point, as our confident patcher-up of evidence imagines. If it be true that King William, in the eighteenth year of his reign, decreed that *no Archdeacon should hereafter hold any pleas in the Hundred Court*, it does not thence follow that the *Archdeacons exercised jurisdiction in those Courts before the Conqueror came in*; because, in less time than eighteen years, many grievances have been known to have had both their rise and redress. By all that he has said of this matter, I have not one spark of light more than I had before; for, so effectually do the laws of Henry the

* Monast. Angl. tom. I. p. 26.

† Vid. Tho. Stubbes, Act. Pontif. Ebor. Coll. 1707, 1708.

First * contradict all that is pretended to be enacted by his Father in this particular, that he must be a very young Antiquary (and as young a Logician) who believes, that any certain conclusion can be drawn from such perplexed principles. To his *railing accusation* in this place (that I have *liberally given up the general rights of the Church, as well as the particular advantages of my own office and authority*) I do not think it becomes me to make any other reply than that Mr. Atterbury does not know me. I have had the honour to serve in Convocation, even since the second edition of his Re-forming Book, in a triple capacity; having had (besides the powers which the Archdeaconry gives me) one proxy from the Bishop of the Diocese, and another from the Chapter: and I am well assured that his Lordship and my reverend brethren would have been the last men living who would have thus entrusted me, had they entertained any such hard thoughts of me as this gentleman is inclined to do. My constant adherence to the doctrine, discipline, and friends of the Established Church, has actually brought upon me those *menaces* † and oppressions of great men, which Mr. Atterbury has only seen in a dream, and whose very shadows have made him tremble.

Page 313. He is unaccountably in wrath with me, for endeavouring to support his own opinion, about the antiquity of the Commons in Parliament; because I do not do it with that convincing and irresistible force of argument which he has done. In the first place, I meanly fetch a proof out of a *dic-*

* Cap. 7. De Generalibus placitis, &c.

† See the Preface to his second edition.

tionary;

tionary; and so, I find, a friend of his (about four or five years ago) proved the rights of a Convocation out of Blount and Minshew *; so that I might hope to outlive this crime, if there were no heavier in the charge: but, to my sorrow and shame, the whole story is an impertinence, and is nothing in the world to the purpose for which I produce it: it is *frivolous, and not worth the mentioning*. To state this question as he would have it, he omits the Saxon words [*thurg thæt Loandes Folk*] as I had given them out of the original, and takes only Mr. Somner's translation [*Electi à Gentis Plebe*] to descant upon. He has not, he says, any skill in the Saxon tongue; and yet he must *beg leave to say, that either the original is faulty, or the translation not proper*. It is an extraordinary piece of courage (let me tell him) to say that Mr. Somner has not translated the Saxon words, in the original records, as he ought to have done; and it is especially so in one who professes himself to have *no skill in the tongue*. But—we are to know he “does this upon very good grounds, because it differs from the translation which the Parliament itself made of this record;” for there the words are “*par la Commune de nostre Reaume*,” and “*la Commune*” (he is as sure as may be) “means the Baronage of England.” I may possibly have as little skill in the French tongue, as he has in the Saxon; and yet I must also *beg leave to say*, that his translation seems to me much more strained and improper than Mr. Somner's. I have, in my time, spelled over a great many transcripts of French records, and some originals; and in all of them, *la Commune* seems to signify the *Commons*, in the modern sense of the word.

* Letter to a Convocation-man, p. 39.

I shall give an instance or two, which (on more accounts than one) are richly worth Mr. Atterbury's consideration. In the old Year-books, "fuit dit que le Roi fist les leis per assent des Peres, & de *la Commune*, & non pas les Peres, & *la Commune* *." In the antient form of swearing the Kings of this realm, this question (amongst others) is recorded: "Sire, grantes vous a tener & garder les Leis & Costumes Naturelles, les quels *la Commune* de vostre Royaume aur' eslue, & les defenderer & efforcier a l' honneur de Dieu & vostre poiare;" which was long since thus translated into Latin: "Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse tenendas, & promittis per te esse protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas *Vulgus* elegerit†." I dare say, this translator meant the same thing by his *Vulgus* which Mr. Somner did by his *Gentis plebs*, and both of them would have construed the word *la Commune* (in the French copy of the charter now before us) just as the latter has done *thæt Loandes-folk*. I have another reason which prevails with me to believe that this charter was not made (as he would have it) in favour only of the "Council of twenty-four," indifferently chosen by the King and (this gentleman's *la Commune*) the Peers of the Realm; which is this: I see the Bishop of Worcester, the Earls of Leicester, Gloucester, Warwick, &c. (who were all members of that Council‡) are named as witnesses § to it; and, in my poor judgment, it

* 22 Edward III.

† Vid. Decem Script. col. 2746.

‡ Vid. Annal. Burton, p. 412.

§ *E ceste chose fu fite devant Boniface Archiepiscopo Cant. Waltero de Cantelupo Episcopo Wigorn, Simone de Munfirt Comite Leycest. Ricardo de Clare Comite Gloucestriæ, &c. Ibid. p. 418.*

looks a little incongruous, that a grant should be attested by those very persons to whom it is made. For these reasons I am yet of opinion, that this same Saxon record is faultless, both in the original and translation; that it was given and granted to the use and behoof of those members of Parliament, who were chosen by the *Commons of England*; and that it as undeniably proves them to be of a more ancient standing than the 49th of Henry the Third, as any argument which Mr. Atterbury has brought on the same side.

Page 412, 413. He calls Dr. Wake to an account, for rejecting the authority whereon the writer of the "Letter to a Convocation-man" founded his doctrine, that a Convocation was called *Church-gemot*; and, in the end of that learned digression, he is pleased to take notice, that the Doctor's assertion (that one "will be hard put to it to bring any author, elder than Sir Edward Coke," for this opinion) *looks like one of mine*. I do not think myself able (whatever hard thoughts he may have of my *assuming* disposition) to *impart* any thing to Dr. Wake on this subject, which may be new to him. But I must freely own that this great master of *modesty* and *good manners* has, for once, fortunately enough guessed at my sentiments. I should never have boggled at the Doctor's reckoning Sir Edward Coke an *elder author* than Sir Henry Spelman, because I am pretty sure he is so: nor can I imagine that, even in the fourth part of his "Institutes," he made any of his collections out of Sir Henry's Glossary; since in 1626, when the first part of the Glossary was printed, Sir Edward was wholly taken up with the fitting out some of his other books to the press. He

He did not live to do the like for this: and, had he taken his remark from the Glossary, and not from Henry the First's MS Laws themselves, he would honestly have owned it. However, it seems, both these learned Knights had seen a copy, or copies, of those Laws which favoured that opinion of theirs; and, with all due respect and deference to their great judgment, Dr. Wake and I may venture to say, that the reading was not genuine: for since their deaths, Sir Roger Twisden (and not Mr. Wheloc, as our spruce adversary is pleased to affirm) has published King Henry's Laws, from the most authentic manuscript in the Exchequer, compared with another in his own hand, and a third borrowed from Mr. Selden. In all these three the word is *Scýpemoz*, and not (as they read it) *Chipzemoz* or *Chipchzemoz*; and the former appears to be the true reading, from the very title of that chapter, *De Generalibus Placitis Comitatum, quomodo & quando fieri deberent* *.

Page 415. *Skill in Saxon*, he is resolved, should be *once again his theme*, though he has before truly told us that it is *not his province*. But his whole business, from the beginning to the end of his book, is meddling with what he does *not understand*. Here he is mightily offended at my "not being satisfied with the opinion of our English Antiquaries and historians, who supposed that *Laga* (in Westsexena-Laga, Myrcena-Laga and Dane-Laga) signified Law, whereas it signifies a Country or District." And why may not I, as well as Mr. Atterbury, be sometimes *dissatisfied* with the opinions of better men than myself? This observation of

* LL. Hen. I. cap. 7. Edit. Twisden, p. 180.

mine has had the good *luck* to be approved by a very learned person *, who, by the joint consent of all our modern Antiquaries, understands the Saxon language the best of any man now living. But such authorities will do nothing with this Hero; and therefore I shall endeavour otherwise to convince him out of his own (I mean his friend's) collections that I am not mistaken in this conjecture. The first proof he brings against me, is from Henry the First's *enlargement of the Confessor's Laws*; and I shall here only beg that the *text* may be admitted for as authentic evidence as the *paraphrase*. We have indeed lost the Saxon copy of the Confessor's Laws; but by the earliest translation we have of them in the Latin and French, we may probably enough guess how they were worded in the matter now under debate. In Mr. Selden's edition of them, it is true, the French words *Danelae*, *Merchenelae* and *Westsexlae*, are rendered by *Lex Danorum*, &c. But this translation, in many places, appears to be forced and unnatural. I shall not trouble you with more than one instance. In the French we read, "Que en Danelae fruisse la pais le Roi †;" which is thus nonsensically rendered, "Qui in Danorum lege violaverit pacem regis;" whereas, if we will have it intelligible, it must run, "Qui in provinciâ Danorum violaverit, &c." This is more plain yet from a worse blunder ‡ in the Latin translation,

* Dr. George Hickes.

† Cap. 3. Edit. Twisden, p. 159. Vid. etiam Cap. 5. *ibid.* & Hist. Ingulf. Edit. Oxon. p. 88.

‡ LL. Edw. Confes. Edit. Cantab. p. 149. Vid. & Reliq. Spelm. p. 49. where it appears that the learned Author, before his death, was pretty much of my opinion. LL. Ed. & Guth. cap. 7. *Dænala* signifies the same as *mid Denum* in the other chapters of those laws.

published at Cambridge; where we have “*erat autem lex Danorum, Norfolk, Suffolk, & Cantabridge-shire.*” Would not any man, of a moderate talent in thinking, fancy, even though the idiom of the Saxon language disallowed it, that the word *provincia* would do better here than *lex*: and yet this is all the foundation there is for what Mr. Atterbury brings out of the Abbot of Jervaulx, who (*understanding both our Saxon tongue and Antiquities perfectly well* *) gravely assures us, that Gildas the Britain † translated the Marchenolaga into Latin; which I wonder our learned author should overlook. But if *the Abbot's skill shall be doubted, yet sure Gervase of Tilbury's cannot*; and a charter of Henry the First must be admitted, as what *will sufficiently clear* the point. It must be a great deal (more, I believe, than he has to say) that is *sufficient* with me: for I am strangely hardened and impenitent in this matter, and not to be wrought off from any of my opinions by such arguments as I mostly meet with in his book. I cannot easily be persuaded that the Courtiers and Ministers of State, in the reigns next after the Conquest, did so perfectly understand the propriety of the Saxon language as he fancies; and I will give him one law. LL. Canut. R. *Englælag*a is manifestly the English Territory, and *Danelaga* the Danish: for as in Chap. 12 it is on *Westsaxon*, so in the 14th it is on *Denelaga*, and in the 13th again on *Myrcean*. The word *Lag* is frequently met with in the like composition with the proper names of countries, in the old Islandish, Danish, and Swedish writers; which if Sir H. Spelman had observed he had never misinterpreted these words as well as Oswaldeslaw, &c. Vid. Concil. Brit. tom. I. p. 432, & Monast. Angl. tom. I. p. 120.

* Take Mr. Atterbury's word for it, Rights, &c. p. 416.

† Decem Scriptores, col. 956.

thority,

thority, of the many I could produce, to prove that my jealousy is not groundless. In one copy of the Conqueror's Laws we have this admirable etymology of the Saxon word *Greve*: "Videtur etiam quibusdam *Greve* vocabulum nomen esse compositum ex Anglico *Grith* & *Væ* Latino. *Grith* enim pax est, *Væ* miseria, ipso domino attestante, qui dicit, *Væ* tibi, Bethsaida, *Væ* tibi, Corozaim. *Greve* igitur ideo dicitur, quod jure debebat *Grith*, id est, pacem ex illis facere, qui patriæ inferunt *Væ*, id est, Miseriam vel Malum *." Who he was that penned this gloss, I know not; but he seems to me to be about the same pitch of knowledge, in our Saxon antiquities, with Gervase of Tilbury, and a later writer. To conclude this head: upon the nicest search that I can make, I do not find that ever the word *Laga* (in composition with *Dæna*, *Myrcena*, or *Westsexena*, in any of our Saxon remains) can be otherwise rightly translated than by a Province or Country: so that I must here venture to repeat my old assertion, that I am "not satisfied with the opinion of those that maintain, that there were in this kingdom, before the Conquest, three such codes or digests of laws as Mr. Atterbury contends for." The world may possibly hereafter be told (for "such lengths some men will go to serve an ill cause †!") that, *at the moment I publish this*, I have *more than one* volume of such laws in my own possession: and I know not how otherwise to guard against a practice of this kind, than by averring, that I am *wholly a stranger to them*; and am far from being

* Lambarde, *Archaion*, p. 134.

† See the Postscript to a Second Letter about the Execution of the Parliament-Writ for the ensuing Convocation.

convinced

convinced that there is *ground to believe* any such extraordinary reports.

Page 432. He brings me over the coals, in a bewitching sort of a rage, and beyond the transports of his former fits. He pronounces me a *false, rude, and rash* writer; and amongst other hard names calls me a *Member of Convocation, who knows as little* of the Constitution of that body, as Dr. Wake himself does. I cannot see how, upon his own principles, he could ever think me a *Member of Convocation*, since he appropriates his Parliamentary Synod to the Province of Canterbury. That *I know as little of these things as Dr. Wake does*, I shall willingly allow to be a great truth: but I am loth to believe that he has drawn my picture so exactly true in the following parts of that page. When I say that the King's Writs commanded the Bishops to attend, "accompanied with the Priors, Archdeacons, and Proctors of the Clergy," he says, I would endeavour to persuade the world, that "all the Priors were summoned, and no Deans." Not I; believe me, Sir, I had no such thoughts. I know not how the *Deans* came to be omitted in my list: but, in good truth, I meant them no more harm than he himself did, when (p. 219) he likewise forgot them in his explication of the *Cleri Majores*, where he only reckons Abbats, Priors (whether *all the Priors* or no, he best knows) and Archdeacons. *But how*, says our good-natured friend, *can we expect a true account of Writs from him who gives so false an one of the Books they are contained in?* The assigned reason for this heavy charge is, because I affirm that (in Dugdale's Book of Summons) *we shall find like mandates for the Clergy and Com-*

mons as for the Nobility; which, as far as my poor apprehension reaches, is most literally true. Had I said there is an equal number of precedents in each kind, it had been indeed a *false* account; but when I only assert that the mandates for the Clergy and Commons are *like* those for the Nobility (calling them in *like manner* to the Parliament, as the others do the Lords Temporal) I cannot possibly discover any error I am in. *Two writs*, he acknowledges, *there are in it for the Commons*; but (as he goes on, very surprisingly) *not one for the Clergy properly so called, that is, for the whole body of them*. This gentleman's brains and mine are not figured alike. If *totus Clerus* be Latin for the *Clergy properly so called*, or (as he explains himself) *the whole body of them*, there are certainly such mandates as I have mentioned, and such as he denies to be there. If he means (as I cannot imagine what else he can mean) that the *whole body of the Clergy* is not called, because some of them are permitted to send up their representatives, he might as well have told me that neither is there so much as one Writ for the *Commons properly so called*, since every individual Freeholder and Innkeeper (in the several shires, cities, and boroughs) is not particularly summoned. One that writes at this rate, will never persuade me to believe that he does *not give his characters* (as he disputes) at *random*.

Page 447. I had said, out of the late printed Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts, that a Journal of the Transactions of *both Houses of Parliament* (from the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign) was drawn up by R. Bowyer, which is still extant; which is certainly true: and he pretends to contradict

dict this by affirming, "that we have no Journals for the Commons" (meaning only as *separate* and *distinct* from those of the House of Lords) higher than the first of Edward the Sixth; which, for any thing I know, may be as true: but it is as little to his malicious purpose as the rest of his impertinencies.

I have now, Sir, done (for ever I hope) with Mr. Atterbury's objections. They from whom I look for such future assistances as will enable me to perfect the work I have undertaken, are men of another sort of temper, and will give me their instructions in another manner. Sensible of the common infirmities of human nature, they will meekly and compassionately reprove those mistakes in me to which they sometimes feel themselves as liable as I am: an obliging sort of treatment, which (I think myself engaged to own) I have had from Mr. Strype, whose "Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer" have been unfairly represented, my thoughts and pen unwarily running into a character which properly belonged to the life of another Metropolitan*, published about the same time.

I must now turn my face towards Scotland; where (by the way) the man that should dare to publish such a new and false exposition of a Statute Law, as Mr. Atterbury has ventured to give us of the 25th Henry VIII. would immediately be adjudged guilty of *leaseing-making*; and I need not inform so knowing a person as he pretends to be, what would follow upon such a sentence. The Laws of England are perhaps a little better humoured; but neither will they long endure such a load of jest

* Bp. Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams.

and poetry as this merry *Preacher* seems to be bringing upon them. But, leaving the Laws to shift for themselves; since he has (in a most familiar manner) accused me of taking things wholly upon trust in my English Library, I cannot, Sir, but think myself concerned to let you and others know, that there are very few books, either in print or manuscript, records, medals, or coins, whereof any particular account will be given in the "Scottish Historical Library," now going to the press, which I have not seen (as we Englishmen use to express it) with my own eyes. A very few, I say, they are, which have been only described to me by others; and you will be satisfied that herein I have depended upon much better judgments than my own, when I tell you that my enquiries at Sir John Cotton's Library were answered by Dr. Thomas Smith; at my Lord Longueville's by Mr. Wotton; at Lambeth by Mr. Gibson, &c. The first of these affords the greatest plenty of Collections, towards the finishing of the Scottish History, of any one place, either in England, or elsewhere. The most learned and renowned Founder of it was descended from the Royal Family of the Bruces*; which he justly valued in himself, and which was likewise ever acknowledged by King James the Sixth, who always called him *Cousin*. Under his picture before the Catalogue of his books, as in many of the books themselves, his name is *Rob. Cottonus Bruceus*.

In Scotland I had every thing laid before me that I could either inquire or wish for. The honourable Society of the College of Justice were so obliging as to allow me an access to their rich treasury of manu-

* Vid. D. Rob. Cottoni Vitam, à D. Tho. Smith, Catal. MSS. præfix. p. iv; & Ep. Ded. ad Camdeni Epist. ab eodem edit.

scripts, at all hours, ordinary and extraordinary; and the most eminently learned Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden (a late Lord of the Session) kindly imparted to me some of his own choice notes on the Law-writers of that kingdom. What coins were wanting in my Lord Archbishop of York's collection were supplied by the industrious Mr. James Sutherland*; whose complete cabinet was always open to me, and whose kind services to the publick (as well as his private favours to me) will appear in several chapters of that book. Above all, my best acknowledgments are ever due to Sir Robert Sibbald†, Knight, and Doctor of Physic, who, with an unspeakable generosity and frankness of temper, communicated to me all his own collections, which any way respected the subject-matter of my book, and pointed out to me many other useful helps, in the hands of my worthy friend Mr. Robert Wudrou, Keeper of the Library of Glasgow, and others. By the assistance of such excellent persons as these, I am now enabled to furnish the publick with (at least) the first lineaments of a Scotch Historical Library; which I shall give in the following method:

Chap. 1. Of the Writers on the General and Special Geography, Natural History, and State Government of the Kingdom of Scotland.

2. Of the general Historians of that Nation.
3. Writers of the Lives of their particular Kings.
4. Ecclesiastical Historians, general.
5. Histories, &c. of their Bishopricks, Monasteries, and Universities.
6. Biographers.
7. Law-Books and Records.
8. Medals and Coins.

* See before, p. 117.

† See before, p. 115.

I need not, Sir, acquaint you what a toil and expence the very collecting of those materials has brought upon me; nor how much trouble I have had in the composure. And it is but a discouraging prospect (after all) to see so many men of gravity and good learning, to whom I thought my labours might have been chiefly useful, caressing an empty Misrepresenter of our Antiquities *, Histories, and Records; and patronizing an ambitious wretch in his insolent attempts against our antient and Apostolical Church-Government. This is doubtless a pleasing and sportful entertainment to such as have long desired to see us magnifying our Ecclesiastical Liberties, and renouncing our obedience to the King, in order to a yet farther impropriation of our revenues: “*Neque aliud sanè*” (says one of the many good authors quoted for Mr. Atterbury) “*magis in hac tam bene constitutâ Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ timendum atque cavendum est, quàm ne Clerus nunc, cum maximè in verbo & veritate laboret, summâque observantiâ Principi pareat, profusorum atque decoctorum prædæ ac direptioni proponatur, & imperitorum convitiis atque contumeliis proscindatur, populoque fiat ludibrio & contemptui. Quod si contingat, gravius Dei flagellum, multoque atrociora tempora expectanda sunt, quàm illa Mariana fuerunt †.*”

That God (in his mercy) may avert the evil of this prediction, is the hearty prayer of, Sir, your most obliged and affectionate brother, W. NICOLSON ‡.

* Mr. Atterbury had received the thanks of the Lower House of Convocation, for publishing “*The Rights, &c.*”; and the University of Oxford complimented him with the degree of D.D. He obtained a mitre in 1713; but found three of his opponents, Burnet, Nicolson, and Wake, his seniors on the episcopal bench. Gibson met him there in 1715; and Kennett in 1718.

† *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, p. 358.

‡ His elevation to the Bishoprick speedily followed this Letter.

95. FROM DR. MANDER*.

MY LORD, OXFORD, MAY .. †, [1702.]

THOUGH unknown to your Lordship, I presume to beg a line for the direction of myself in the circumstances I am in. Immediately after the Provost had been with me to signify your Lordship's request of having a Degree by Diploma, I was presented by some of the Masters with the inclosed ‡. Never-

* Roger Mander, Fellow of Baliol college, Oxford; M. A. 1672; B.D. 1680; elected master of that house, Oct. 23, 1687, after the Society had employed one of their number to petition his Majesty for a free election, and not have a Mandamus put upon them. He took the degree of D.D. 1688; was elected Vice-chancellor in 1701; died in 1705; and was buried in the chapel of his College.

† "May 30, I received (at York, sent thither from my wife) the following letter, thus directed: "To the Rt. Rev. Lord William, Bishop Elect of Carlisle, at Salkeld, in Cumberland. (Penrith Bag.) Humbly present." W. N.—Dr. Smith died April 12, 1702; and Dr. Nicolson was elected Bishop May 31. He was consecrated, in Lambeth chapel, June 14; and the Sermon, preached by his friend Dr. Gibson, was published on the 27th.

‡ *The inclosed Paper*: "Whereas the Members of the University of Oxford, in a very full Convocation held the [fifth] day of [March] 1701, did unanimously agree to confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon the Reverend Mr. Francis Atterbury §, as a testi-

§ "June 4, 1603. The following Grace was passed in the Congregation of the University of Cambridge.—'Placet vobis ut quicunque Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, vel ejus partem aliquam, dictis aut scriptis, aut quocunque alio modo, in Academia Cantabrigiensi publicè oppugnaverit, ab omni suscepto gradu suspendatur, et à suscipiendo excludatur ipso facto.' Which was approved by the University of Oxford (and called a wise and necessary Decree) in the answer of the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, &c. to the humble Petition of the Ministers desiring Reformation, &c. in the same year." W. N.

mony

theless, if you please to order me what to say in answer to this paper, or immediately, notwithstanding, to propose your Degree *, it shall be done by,
My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

R. MANDER.

mony of the sense which they had of the signal service he had done the Church, by his excellent book, entitled, 'The Rights, Powers, and Privileges,' &c.: And whereas W. Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, in a pamphlet, entitled, 'A Letter to Dr. White Kennett, in Defence of the English Historical Library against the unmannerly and slanderous Objections of Mr. Francis Atterbury, Preacher at the Rolls,' &c. and printed in 1702, doth, in and through the said pamphlet, term the said Doctor *Mr. Atterbury* only, in a seeming contempt of the honour done him by the said University: And whereas the said Archdeacon (in the thirty-fourth page of the said pamphlet) hath these words; *viz.* 'I need not, Sir, acquaint you what a toil and expence the very collecting of those materials hath brought upon me; nor how much trouble I have had in the composure. And it is but a discouraging prospect (after all) to see so many men of gravity and good learning, to whom I thought my labours might have been chiefly useful, caressing an empty Misrepresenter of our Antiquities, Histories, and Records, and patronizing an ambitious wretch in his insolent attempts against our antient and Apostolical Church-government:' which words are conceived to contain a severe and undecent reflection upon the proceedings of the University: It is humbly proposed to Mr. Vice-chancellor, by several members of your venerable Convocation, whether it can be consistent with the honour of the University to bestow any mark of favour upon the said Archdeacon, before he shall have made suitable satisfaction for so high an indignity, and open an affront, as he hath hereby put upon her."

"Mr. Vice-chancellor not having acquainted me who the Masters, or Members of the venerable Convocation are, that presented this libellous memorial to him; the most civil treatment, which (as I thought, by advice of my friends) could be given to it was, to take no manner of notice of its coming to my hand." W. N.

* "The Bishop of Carlisle is going to Cambridge for his degree. The letter for it was proposed to the Heads of the Houses

at

96. FROM DR. SMITH*.

MY LORD,

NOV. 19, 1703.

HAVING sent your Lordship some things about the dependence of *St. Andrew's* upon York, give me leave to present you with what I sent to Sir Robert Sibbald about *Glasgow*: which is the rather your due, because that See did formerly claim a right in your, Lordship's Diocese. This is a brief of the first Archbishop Thomas; which, I think, clearly proves the exercise of authority upon Glasgow.

“Thomas, Dei gratiâ, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Algaro clerico Salutem. Ipse tibi ore ad os prohibui, cum per te crisma & oleum ad Glasguensem ecclesiam misi, ne crisma vel oleum illud dares in parochiam Dunelmensis episcopi. Tu verò illud contra defensionem meam in Tevegetedale dedisti, de quâ Ecclesiam Dunelmensem saisitam inveni. Mando igitur tibi, & episcopali auctoritate prohibeo, & omnibus presbyteris de Tevegetedale, ne de crismate et oleo aliquod ministerium amodò faciatis; nisi per octo dies tantum postquam breve istud videritis, ut interim requirere possitis crisma à Dunelmensi ecclesiâ, quæ vobis illud dare solita est. Quod si post illas octo dies de crismate quod misi aliquam Chris-

at Oxford; and they deferred passing it till the Vice-chancellor had received a suitable answer to that he sent Nicolson; of which notice being sent the Bishop, he resolved to send no answer, but apply himself elsewhere.” Dr. Atterbury to Dr. James, Chancellor of Exeter, June 23, 1702.

* Indorsed, “Dr. Smith, of Durham; Scotland's Dependence on York.”

tianitatem

tianitatem facere presumpseritis, à divino officio vos suspendo, donec diratiocinatum sit ad quam ecclesiam pertineat. Valete."

I write your Lordship no comment upon this; let it speak for itself. But perhaps it may not be amiss to acquaint your Lordship that, since my last, I have had an opportunity of sending this, with some other things, to my Lord of York; from whom I have lately received two most obliging letters; wherein he gives me all imaginable encouragement to do myself the honour of his correspondence.

The occasion was, an enquiry after a MS. of Bede's History, which I am taking measures to collate with all the MSS. of the kingdom. And, when that is done, if your Lordship thinks it worth the while, I may perhaps publish it. But this I dare not yet own to the world. May it please your Lordship only to send me your sense of the undertaking; and to give me your assistance, if you like it. My reason for thinking of it is, that if ever I should meddle with the History of our Church, this of Bede will be a proper preliminary to it. I need not observe to your Lordship, the faults of our editions of Bede; I believe your Lordship will agree with me that they are many, and may be mended. But the main objection with me to the mending them is, that, after all, the Author himself has a great many faults. He is credulous and visionary, and monkish to a high degree: but to this I answer, that he is all we have of those times, and so we must be content with him; nor is he altogether so bad as some printed copies make him. If I should go on, it would cost your Lordship the trouble of a great many impertinent queries; which, if ever they come,

come, I hope you will pardon. In the mean time
I am always, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged servant,

J. SMITH.

97. * TO MR. ARCHDEACON PEARSON †.

DEAR COUSIN,

AUG. 24, 1704.

WHAT the modern opinions of our Divines and Lawyers are, in the point of the Regal Supremacy, I know not. I take the Laws in being, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, to agree with me; that the Queen is the only Supreme Head of the Church, and Sovereign of the Realm; in her personal (as well as her political) capacity. Thus, I think, the Canons of 1603 sufficiently explain themselves, when they direct the Clergy (always before Sermon, whether the Parliament be sitting or no) to pray for her by that title; which the Statute-Laws appropriate to her as fully as that of Defender of the Faith. Thus the Judges of that time unanimously stated the matter in Calvin's case; and thus all our Divines, before the Wars, as unanimously expounded the Laws and Canons on that head. The first time, I believe, that ever this new doctrine was publicly asserted (that the Sovereign Power resides in the

* Indorsed, "My Letter to Archdeacon Pearson, 3d Mem^o about Dr. Atterbury."

† William Pearson, of Queen's college, Oxford; M.A. 1688; archdeacon of Nottingham 1690; sub-dean of York 1695; afterwards LL.D. and chancellor of the Diocese; died Feb. 4, 1715.

King

King and the Two Houses of Parliament) was in the Parliamentary Remonstrance of Nov. 2, 1642. And the improvements were such as we seem to be going towards. In the King's name, and by the sovereign power and authority vested in themselves, the Two Houses disposed of his person as they thought fit: and why should we not fear, that, the same principles prevailing now, we may live to see the same conclusions drawn from them? I like Dr. Atterbury's positions not one jot the better for his having a great many followers (or companions) in his new broached opinions. This makes it necessary for some of us that differ from him, till he can convince us of our being in the wrong, to make a stand; and to take the opportunity, which is now before us, of bringing the matter in controversy to a legal and authoritative decision. Before the late Revolution, all our Courts of Judicature (to say nothing of our Provincial Synods and Universities) would loudly have condemned this man's doctrines. I do not see that the Public Laws speak any other language than they did in the days of King Charles the Second: but whether our Judges will think them of the same force and value, I cannot say, till I have tried them.

Very frank have I been (long before I expected to see Dr. Atterbury's face * in this Diocese) in speak-

* Dr. Grahme, or Graham, Dean of Carlisle, was promoted to the deanery of Wells in 1704, and installed there July 28, 1704; but the installation of Dr. Atterbury at Carlisle was delayed in consequence of the scruples of Bp. Nicolson, who found some difficulties from the imperfection of the instruments; which were afterwards, by the Queen's interference, removed; but of which it may be necessary to give some particulars:—July 6, 1704, Dr. Atterbury thus writes to his patron Bp. Trelawny: “When I wrote about Dr. Jane's pretensions to succeed in the Deanery of
Wells,

ing my thoughts on this subject; and, for my encouragement, I never yet met with any one of my brethren here that differed from me. If there be occasion, I will once again (and in a more solemn Wells, I little thought that it would have fallen to the share of Dean Grahme; and much less, that I should by that means be any way a gainer. But so it hath happened. For yesterday I received a message from Secretary Hedges; and upon my attending him this morning, he told me that the Queen had resolved to give me the Deanery of Carlisle; and he introduced me to kiss the Queen's hand for it this evening; from which I am come this moment to give your Lordship an account of it. Nothing could be further from my thoughts than such a preferment; which gives me an higher station in the world, and but very little (after the necessary deductions made) to support it. However, as it is a mark of her Majesty's favour and goodness to me, I did and do accept it very thankfully. And, in the first place, I return my most humble thanks to your Lordship, for the instances of your Lordship's great generosity and kindness to me, of which I will, while I live, preserve a grateful sense; and to which I will own that I owe both the present and all other instances of good fortune which shall ever attend me." Again, July 22, "My patent passed the broad seal on Tuesday last."—This patent, dated July 15, is printed in Bp. Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. I. p. 345; and commands the admission of Dr. Atterbury to the Deanery then vacant, *sive per cessionem, sive per resignationem*. On the 8th of August, Dr. Atterbury adds, "I have gotten over the difficulty started in relation to the avoidance of the Deanery of Carlisle, and am possessed of Dean Grahme's *resignation*." Again, Aug. 17, "The Bishop of Carlisle is come to himself, and hath taken occasion to make excuses to several persons (who, he knew, would inform me of them) for his not answering my letter. He says, he thought I should be upon the road before an answer could reach me. Whatever he then thought, he now thinks himself in the wrong; and will, I am informed, set it right again by his civilities to me when I come into Cumberland." Sept. 11, he adds, "I will give your Lordship a farther account of this matter when I come to Carlisle."

The subsequent history of this unpleasant altercation the succeeding Letters here printed will best explain.

manner

manner than heretofore) lay the matter before them ; and, if we are able to settle the point so as to acquit Dr. Atterbury, we shall, perhaps, have no occasion to refer him to my Lord Archbishop's sentence. But if this cannot be done, our dernier resort must be to his Grace : for, though Dr. Atterbury will have all Bishops equal, the Metropolitcal power (as well as the Regal) shall be ever revered by

Yours, &c.

W. CARL.

P. S. In reply to what you have so kindly offered to my thoughts, allow me to give you this one single paper more : which, if his Grace will please to peruse it, and then give me or Dr. Atterbury his private opinion and advice in the case, may, perhaps, help to settle the controversy.

98. FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK *.

MY LORD,

BISHOPSTHORP, SEPT. 4, 1704.

I RECEIVED yours on Saturday last. I acquainted Dr. Atterbury, who came that evening, with your Lordship's resolution not to give him institution, but upon such terms as you propose † in

* Indorsed, " Lord Archbishop of York.—Dr. Atterbury to be instituted by Proxy."

† When Dr. Atterbury came to his Grace of York's, at Bishopsthorp, near York, in his way to Carlisle, he there found a form of Retractation, which the Bishop of Carlisle required he should make, before his Lordship would give him institution to the Deanery.—The form ran thus : 1. " The Queen of England, out of Parliament, has not the same authority in causes Ecclesiastical that the Christian Emperors had in the Primitive Church. 2. The Church of England is under two Sovereigns ; the one absolute, and the other limited. 3. The supreme Ecclesiastical jurisdiction,

your Letter, which you may be sure he will never submit to; and I cannot but say that I am sorry that you insist on them. However, you are pleased to give your consent that I should institute him, nay to desire me to do it, if I think I honestly can, without such a retractation as you propose.

I thank your Lordship for that; and I should, without more ado, have proceeded to give him institution, and have sent my mandate to the Chapter for his Installment, if this signification of your desire by letter had been sufficient to empower me. But they tell me here, that there must be an instrument under your Episcopal Seal, to give me this authority; an instrument of Remission, I think they call it, by which you refer this whole matter to me. If your Lordship will please to send me such an instrument, I hope there will be an end of this dispute.

There is likewise another way, I am told, whereby this may be done; *viz.* by your granting a commission under your Episcopal Seal, to such persons here as you shall think fit, to give the Doctor institution. jurisdiction, as annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, can be exercised no otherwise than in Parliament. These three propositions, separating her Majesty's authority from her person, and impeaching her legal supremacy, are erroneous, and contrary to the received doctrine of the Church of England, as well as the known laws of the realm. And therefore (so far as they, or any of them, are deducible from any thing that I have heretofore asserted and published) I do hereby, openly and freely, revoke and renounce the same." This form of retractation was sent by the Bishop to the Archbishop the day before Dr. Atterbury came to his Grace; and the Bishop desired his Grace, that if Dr. Atterbury consented not to make that retractation, he would stop him there, and give him institution by his metropolitane authority. That could not be done without a signification of his desire under the Episcopal Seal (if it could be done at all); which, therefore, the Archbishop and Dean wrote for.

And

And this was the method that Archbishop Sancroft took, when he made a scruple to consecrate Dr. Burnet, the present Bishop of Sarum; he then granted a commission to some other Bishops to do it for him.

Your Lordship may chuse which of these ways you will. But I beg that you would come to a resolution as soon as may be, so that we may have the effects thereof by the next Saturday's post, for so long Dr. Atterbury will stay here. Indeed my opinion is, that you should put him to no more expence, trouble, and delay, than you needs must; for that will serve to no other end than to inflame the differences between you; and it is certain he will carry his point after all.

I am, my Lord, with great sincerity,

Your Lordship's most affectionate brother and friend,
JO. EBOR.

P. S. If your Lordship thinks of a Commission, as some here are of opinion that it is the better way; why should you not pitch upon Dr. Nathinson my Chancellor, Dr. Fall the Præcentor, and Mr. Pearson the Sub-dean, to be your commissioners.

99. FROM DR. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, BISHOPS-THORP, SEPT. 4, 1704.

I CAME hither on Saturday evening, and intended to have set out this morning in order to pay my duty to your Lordship at Rose Castle; but am stopped by a letter of your Lordship's to his Grace, part of which his Grace hath been pleased to communicate to

to me: and therein I find that your Lordship is firmly determined not to give me institution yourself (should I wait upon you for it), unless I do openly and freely revoke and renounce three Propositions, relating to her Majesty's Supremacy, there specified; and which seem to your Lordship deducible from somewhat which I have heretofore asserted and published.

My Lord, there are many reasons for which I can by no means comply with this, or any such proposal; and with which there is no need that I should at present trouble your Lordship: especially since your Lordship hath, in the same letter, desired his Grace, that, in case I consented not to your proposal, he would please to admit me, and send his Metropolitcal mandate for my installation. His Grace, I find, is very ready to fulfill your Lordship's desire in that respect (as I am also to take this method of being instituted) as soon as your Lordship shall have made such a remission of your right and authority in this case, under your Episcopal Seal*, as may be judged a legal and effectual warrant for his Grace's giving me institution, and my receiving it. To this end I may, I hope, be permitted to offer myself thus by letter to your Lordship for Institution, since your Lordship hath expressed a concern to prevent the unnecessary expence of my coming fourscore miles, in order only (as your Lordship is pleased to

* "Seven days after the Dean came to the Archbishop's, he received the Bishop's answer, that he would give a commission under his seal to nobody, for doing any thing which he would not and could not do himself; and therefore the Doctor must come to him. The Dean set out accordingly as soon as was possible." Bp. Atterbury's *Epistolary Correspondence*, vol. I. p. 351.

speaking) *to be sent back by you.* And therefore, without waiting in person upon your Lordship (as I was ready to have done) I will expect your Lordship's pleasure here at Bishops-thorp: hoping for such dispatch from your Lordship, in the matter of my institution, as may enable me safely to proceed to my installment, without further delay.

I am your Lordship's most dutiful

and most humble servant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

100. FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY LORD,

SEPT. 11, 1704.

I HAD yours on Saturday. Dr. Atterbury is set out this morning for Carlisle*, in order to wait upon you with his Patent. I could wish that, upon his tendering of it, your Lordship would either think

* In a letter dated York, Sept. 11, 1704, Dr. Atterbury tells Bp. Trelawny, "I have been stopped a week at Bishops-thorpe, in my way to Carlisle, by a letter to the Archbishop from the Bishop of Carlisle, wherein he positively refused to institute me, unless I revoked some Propositions relating to the Supremacy, which he thought deducible from my writings. I will inclose the paper the Bishop drew up on that occasion. At the end of it he desired the Archbishop to admit me himself, by his Metropolitcal authority, if I would not consent to revoke, and renounce, as he had prescribed. There were some thoughts that this might be done, and that my journey to Carlisle might be saved by that means; which hath occasioned my stay here: but some forms, which are to pass the Bishop in order to it, could not be procured; and so I am now setting forward myself for Carlisle, to tender him my mandate: before he will receive which, and give me

fit to give him Institution yourself, or delegate your authority to me by way of remission, if your Lordship and he judge that a proper method. But, if neither of these can be done, then I have this to beg of you, that you would at the first give him your positive denial, and not insist upon the twenty-eight days which the Canon gives you to deliberate about the matter, that so he may, without more loss of time, make his appeal. This I cannot but think reasonable, considering here is no dispute about the right of patronage; and you likewise know your own mind at the time he tenders you his patent, what you mean to do, as well as you will know at the end of twenty-eight days; so that all delay will look like pure unkindness.

I will not now meddle with the matter in difference between you. You have had my thoughts about it, and I have had yours. But, I must confess, I am still of the opinion I was in; that Dr. Atterbury in the 213, 14, 15, 16 pages, hath asserted nothing derogatory to the Queen's Supremacy, as in our Constitution and by our Laws it must be understood.

I find the Bishop of Sarum* is perfectly of his mind, and so he has owned himself in that very book which he writ against Dr. Atterbury. I must confess, I am entirely in the sentiments of that Bishop, where he declares thus: "I always thought

me institution upon it, he will, I believe, be pretty troublesome to me. But it will end in more trouble to himself; for the affront is not so much to me as to her Majesty, and will be resented accordingly. This is, I suppose, intended also as a return to the demur which the University of Oxford made, on my account, to giving the Bishop his degree. [See p. 263.] But they could demur in this case with somewhat more safety than the Bishop can."

* Dr. Burnet.

that the King was no other way Head of the Church than as he was the Head of the State, with whom the Executive power is lodged, and who is the Head of the Legislative in conjunction with the great body of his Parliament." And this is exactly the Doctor's doctrine.

But I have forgot what I just now said, that I would not enter into the merits. But, now that I have broke my word, give me leave to say a little more.

Of the (three) Propositions which your Lordship would have the Doctor to renounce *, the first, I take to be undoubtedly true. The second is not his, but, with a little alteration, may be made his; *viz.* if it run thus, "The Church of England is under a Sovereign, who, with his Parliament, is absolute; but without it, is limited." And this I take to be likewise undoubtedly true. The third Proposition seems to be foreign to the present business; nor do I see how the Doctor is concerned in it. Yet I take it to be as true as the other two, if the Legislative be the supreme jurisdiction; as, when one makes degrees of comparison in jurisdiction, it must be acknowledged to be. Good my Lord, forgive my zeal in

* When the Dean came to Rose Castle, the Bishop's seat, the Bishop produced the three Propositions; and required the Dean that he would retract them: but, upon the Dean asking his Lordship whether he insisted on it, he said No. And the Dean afterwards found that the Archbishop's opinion had prevailed with the Bishop to withdraw them; his Grace having freely and fully told him, in more letters than one, that the first was a true Proposition, and the other two not to be found in Dr. Atterbury's book according to that sense and turn which the Bishop had given them. But the Bishop had prepared another paper; and that he produced before the Canons of the Church then called together, and required the Dean to subscribe it. See p. 277.

this business ; I profess I have no ends to serve but those of peace ; and to prevent, if I can, a rupture which, I am afraid, will be prejudicial to yourself : and not only so, but, if it be not stifled in the beginning, may be the occasion of a new quarrel in this Church, of which we have too many already among us. I pray God direct you ; and assure yourself of me that I am always your true friend and brother, and servant,

JO. EBOR.

P. S. What satisfaction the Doctor will give you in discourse, I know not : but I am afraid you will not find him very forward, for obvious reasons, to depart from any thing he has said.

101. DR. ATTERBURY TO BP. TRELAWNY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

CARLISLE, SEPT. 21, 1704.

WHEN I came to the Bishop at Rose Castle for institution, he withdrew the three Propositions I sent you, and would not insist upon them ; but, instead of them, offered me another sort of Retractation to sign ; a copy of which I have inclosed *. It was a

* “ The Church here in England is under the Government both of the *absolute* and *limited* Sovereign ; under the government of the limited Sovereign, within the compass of his prerogative ; under the government of the absolute Sovereign, without any restraints or bounds, except what the revealed will of God and the eternal rules of right reason prescribe. The Pope usurped, not only on the King, the limited ; but on the King and Parliament, the absolute Sovereign ; and what was to be taken from him,

surprise to me. I desired a little time, to withdraw and consider it: and pen, ink, and paper, to set down my thoughts upon it; which were granted me; and in his house I soon drew up the answer, which I have also transmitted to your Lordship*.

him, therefore, was not all to be thrown into the Prerogative, but restored severally to its respective owners." See "Rights and Powers, &c." p. 214, 2d edition.

"I do hereby, openly and freely, revoke and renounce whatever in this paragraph may reasonably seem to impeach her Majesty's Regal Supremacy, inherent in her Royal person; or any ways necessarily to infer a co-ordination with her in the Sovereignty of this Realm."

* "Your Lordship demands of me, that, in order to my institution to the Deanery of Carlisle, I should make the preceding Retraction. In answer to your Lordship's demand, I humbly reply:

1. "That I offer to qualify myself for institution, by taking all those oaths, and making all those subscriptions or declarations, which are required by any Law or Canon of this Realm, or Church of England.

2. "That, in the passage cited by your Lordship, I do not, after a very deliberate consideration of it, find any thing asserted which, upon a fair and candid construction of the words, can reasonably seem to impeach her Majesty's Regal Supremacy inherent in her Royal person, or any way necessarily to infer a co-ordination with her in the Sovereignty of this Realm.

3. "No man living can be more ready than I am to assert her Majesty's Supremacy, in the utmost legal extent of it, upon all proper occasions; or to retract any thing which may have casually fallen from my pen, and may reasonably seem to be in the least derogatory to it. But to do this in order to obtain possession of the Deanery of Carlisle, which her Majesty has granted me under the broad seal of England, and after a manner no ways that I know of prescribed either by the Canons or Laws of Church or State, would, I apprehend, on my side, be rather injurious than respectful to her Majesty's Regal Supremacy and Prerogative; inasmuch as it tends to introduce and establish new tests and qualifications unknown to our Constitution, and which may in future times be required of all those who shall have like grants from the Crown, of this or any other Deanery. And therefore
the

Upon hearing which, the Bishop grew very much out of humour, and discovered a great deal of disorder, both in his looks and discourse. He in passion demanded my orders, and letters testimonial of my good life and behaviour *; and said, he would exa-

the surest mark of my regard for the Queen's Regal Supremacy will, I presume, be humbly (as I now do) to desire your Lordship, that you would, in virtue of her Majesty's letters patent now tendered to your Lordship, grant me institution to the Deanery of Carlisle, without delay, and without insisting on any such Retractation. Provided always your Lordship have full and sufficient right to grant such institution to me, of which I cannot be supposed a competent judge: and which exception I desire may be understood, and included, in every thing that I have done, or said, towards desiring institution from your Lordship. And I humbly pray, that the Notaries now present may draw up in form a notarial act of this your Lordship's demand, and my humble reply.

FR. ATTERBURY.

Rose Castle, Sept. 15, 1704."

"Test. Joh. Nicolon, Not. Pub.

G. Longstaffe, Not. Pub."

Upon the Dean's reading this reply to the Bishop, his Lordship was in great confusion; pressed the Dean to converse the matter with him, and to clear up his doubts. The Dean refused to say a syllable farther upon that head than what he had set down in writing.

* The Bishop fetched down the Canons; and said, "He would institute him step by step, according to the form there prescribed;" and first demanded his orders and letters testimonial. The Dean told him, "he had neither;" but said, that "he thought the Dignities in the Church to which he had been collated (particularly the Archdeaconry of Totness) were sufficient vouchers for his being in orders." The Bishop answered, "How do I know you are Archdeacon of Totness?" The Dean replied, "Just as I know your Lordship to be Bishop of Carlisle." "Well," said the Bishop, "now I must examine you." Then he paused a while; and added, "But perhaps this would be too great an affront to you!" "As many affronts as your Lordship pleases," said the Dean: "I hope I am prepared to bear them."

mine

mine me as to my learning; and soon afterwards went back from all this, and produced a paper, ready written by his Register, commanding me to appear again at Rose Castle on the 12th of October, and then and there receive his answer *.

Nothing could be more barbarous and unfair than the whole scene of this conduct; for, in the first place, he contrived things so, that I should know nothing of his intentions to refuse me institution till I came to York. Then he stopped me eight days at York, under a sham pretence of desiring the Archbishop to institute me in his stead; but, when I applied for a request of that kind to the Archbishop under his Episcopal Seal, he would not grant it, but would have me come to Rose Castle and receive institution from him: and yet, when I came thither, took advantage of the twenty-eight days allowed him by the Canon, without reckoning in those in which he himself had detained me at Bishops-thorpe †. We parted however pretty civilly;

* “Sept. 15, 1704. Having this day received her Majesty's letters patent under the great seal of England, nominating Dr. Francis Atterbury to the vacant Deanery of Carlisle; and being for the present under such doubts and difficulties in matters of law and conscience, that I cannot immediately institute the said Dr. Atterbury; I do hereby appoint Thursday the 12th of October next for the making such a dutiful return to her Majesty's letters patent as counsel in the law shall direct or advise.

“This paper was read; and Dr. Atterbury had notice given to attend the Bishop at Rose the 12th of October next, between nine and ten in the forenoon, in the presence of

“JOHN NICOLON, P. N.

“G. LONGSTAFFE, P. N.”

† The Dean urged “the hardship of this delay, which would hinder him from attending the Queen that month as Chaplain, and probably from preaching the Lord Almoner's turn on Nov. 15, which he had undertaken at his Grace's desire; besides that his Lordship had, by his letters to the Archbishop of York, de-
tained

and, I thank God, I had that command of myself, that, notwithstanding his rudeness to me, I was not moved to do or say any thing indecent.

That night I went to Carlisle, where I have been ever since at the Deanery, expecting what they will do above in this matter, where I have lodged a full account of it.

The Bishop had taken as much care as he could to have all manner of slights put upon me. The bells were not to ring, the choir not to attend upon me, nor the Corporation to take any notice of me. All which I bore, and took no notice of; but in two days time broke through all his measures.

It is a little uncomfortable living here in a country where I have nobody that I can advise with, or confide in, upon points of so great moment to me; and where I have to deal with sharp and subtle heads, which oblige me to be ever upon my guard, and to tread very warily. However, since I am in, I must go through with it as well as I can; and hope I have ripened matters so well already, that this attempt will end in shame and confusion to the attempter. I know not when I shall be able to return to London, being resolved to wait here the event of this matter; and have accordingly sent to put off my waiting in October*.

tained the Dean from offering his letters patent eight days, and ought not therefore to take the advantage of them. The Bishop was pleased at last to say, "that he would write up to London; and if he found that he could not justify denying institution upon the grounds he had gone, he would, as soon as his answer came, immediately do it, without expecting his attendance till October the 12th." He added, "he would not insist upon producing Testimonial Letters or Orders." See Bp. Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. I. p. 356.

* As Queen's Chaplain.

I thought

I thought myself obliged to give your Lordship some account of these my poor affairs; though it will be a good while before it comes to your hands in Cornwall. The ill usage I have had from this gentleman makes me reflect often on the contrary treatment I have had from your Lordship; and would, if any thing possibly could, raise my gratitude to your Lordship for all your noble favours to me, and for the obliging manner wherein you have ever bestowed, and by that means doubled them.

Dr. Smalridge * writes me word, that the Dean of Gloucester † hath sent him eighty pounds for the two last terms ‡. So they will go on now, I suppose, upon that foot for the future.

I beg your Lordship's blessing; and am your most obliged, dutiful, and devoted servant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

* George Smalridge, born 1661; was educated at Westminster School; elected to Christ Church Oxford, 1682; M.A. 1689; B.D. 1698; D.D. 1701. He was a Prebendary of Lichfield in June 1693; was Lecturer of St. Dunstan in the West (where he preached his Farewel-sermon Dec. 23, 1711); and minister of the new Chapel in Tothill Fields. He was Dean of Carlisle 1711; of Christ Church 1713; Bishop of Bristol and Lord Almoner 1714; and died of an apoplexy, at Christ Church, on the 27th of September, 1719. He was truly a worthy Prelate, an excellent Scholar, a sound Divine, an eloquent Preacher, a good Writer both in Latin and English, of great gravity and dignity in his whole deportment, and at the same time of as great complacency and sweetness of manners; a character at once both amiable and venerable.

† Dr. Jane. See before, p. 209.

‡ For supplying his place as Divinity Professor.

102. TO MR. SECRETARY HEDGES *.

SIR,

SEPT. 16, 1704.

THOUGH I have not the honour to be personally known to you, I am under the necessity of giving you this trouble. I had yesterday letters patent brought to me by Dr. Atterbury; upon whom her Majesty has been pleased to confer the Deanery of Carlisle. The local statutes of the Church require presentation to that dignity from the Queen, and institution from the Bishop: but her Majesty's mandate being directed only to the Chapter, I know not how far it will justify my giving Institution upon it, were I otherwise at liberty to do it. You have, Sir, long since informed me, that all that one can do, when his Prince commands what he believes to be unjustifiable, is *rescribere*; and, were I sure that her Majesty's commands were intended for me, I would presently have made those humble applications to which you direct me. As the matter now stands, give me leave to make this address to yourself.

I need not, Sir, acquaint you that our Law Books generally assert, that where an offender is liable to deprivation, there is just cause to forbear institution. Now, the 13 Eliz. cap. 12. ordains, "that if any ecclesiastical person advisedly affirms any doctrine directly contrary to any of the Thirty-nine Articles, and will not revoke his error, this shall be just cause to deprive him of his Ecclesiastical promotions."

* Sir Charles Hedges, knight. He was Secretary of State from 1700 to 1706.

This,

This, with humble submission, I take to be Dr. Atterbury's case; since I am not able to reconcile his recited paragraph to the Thirty-seventh Article: nor can I think his justifying remonstrance any thing like a revocation.

What I have, in all humility, to beg of you, Sir, is, that you will be pleased favourably to represent my scruples to her Majesty; and to afford me those instructions which you think most proper for, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. CARLIOL.

103. TO MR. SECRETARY HEDGES.

HON. SIR,

SEPT. 18, 1714.

I FORGOT to acquaint you in my letter on Saturday last (which was written in some hurry) that we do not find that any Dean of this Church, except the two last, had institution from the Bishop. Most of them, we are sure, were immediately installed by the Chapter: and so (I confess, I think) Dr. Atterbury ought to be; since her Majesty's mandate dispenses, as those of her Predecessors have probably ever done, with that clause in the Statutes which requires institution. And this dispensation cannot be scrupled by any member of that body, since this is the conclusion of their Statutes, given by their founder King Henry VIII. "*Reservamus autem nobis et successoribus nostris plenam potestatem statuta hæc mutandi, alterandi, et, si videbitur, etiam nova condendi.*"

I do

I do not hear that Mr. Dean has ever yet made any tender of his mandate to those who seem principally, if not only, concerned in the execution of it.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

W. CARLIOL.

104. FROM MR. SECRETARY HEDGES.

MY LORD, WHITEHALL, 23 SEPT. 1704.

I RECEIVED the honour of your Lordship's of the 16th instant, with Dr. Atterbury's paper inclosed; and if I could think my opinion had weight enough with your Lordship to make an end of that dispute, I should freely give it as for your service; however, though it is not my business, I crave leave to offer to your consideration:

First, The great difference there is between this case and that of the Bishop of London, for which you are pleased to quote me.

Secondly, Whether your Lordship be a competent judge to declare Dr. Atterbury's crime, if he was guilty; and whether any censure ought not to be declared judicially, *in foro contradictorio*, even by a competent judge.

Thirdly, Whether your Lordship can justify the requiring any other subscriptions, or declarations, than are prescribed by the Law.

Fourthly, Whether the form required by your Lordship to be subscribed by Dr. Atterbury in these words,

words, *may reasonably seem to impeach*, &c. does import a guilt of what is objected against him; *viz.* "that he has affirmed a doctrine directly contrary to one of the Thirty-nine Articles," for which your Lordship says he may be deprived, and that, therefore, institution may be refused.

Fifthly, If the Local Statute requires institution from the Bishop, your Lordship will then consider how other mandates have been directed, and what reasons can be given for refusing what has been done by your predecessors in the like cases.

I shall add no more, but that I have obeyed your commands in making such a representation of your scruples to her Majesty as you desire; and all that I have in answer is, that her Majesty expects that there should be no further delay in giving Institution to Dr. Atterbury*. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

C. HEDGES.

* This order was complied with, and Dr. Atterbury was regularly instituted on the 2d of October.—But the controversy did not end here. The Narrative published by Dr. Atterbury of the proceedings at Rose Castle (abridged in the notes to Letter 101) produced "A Letter from a Northern Divine to a Member of the University of Oxford;" (see Bp. Atterbury's "Epistolary Correspondence," vol. I. p. 363); which was answered in "A Letter from the South, by way of Answer to a Letter from a Northern Divine, giving an Account of a strange Attempt made by Dr. Atterbury, &c."—In the "Biographia Britannica" the circumstance is thus perverted: "Upon his nomination, either through ignorance of the common forms, or an over-hastiness to get possession, he took out his instruments before his predecessor Dr. Grahme had resigned. This mistake he endeavoured to rectify in the following extraordinary manner. When he first waited on Dr. Nicolson, then Bishop of Carlisle, that Prelate demanded of him a formal resignation from Dr. Grahme, without which, he told him, he could not admit him. The new-appointed Dean
seemed

105. FROM DR. KENNETT*.

MY LORD,

THURSDAY NIGHT.

I HAD this day the honour of dining with my Lord Chief Justice Holt, at his house, upon a kind invitation from his Lordship. After dinner it was easy to bring in a discourse of the repulse of Dr. Atterbury. His Lordship and some of the company seemed to understand that it was but a personal quarrel, and not worth the advice of Lawyers; but when I took a soft opportunity of opening the cause, seemed to laugh at this demand; but the Bishop, who resolved to shew Dr. Atterbury no favour, and barely to do him justice, continuing obstinate, the Doctor, to his no small mortification, was kept a whole month at Carlisle, unadmitted, and slightly regarded, till the resignation, insisted on, was produced. The resignation, however, upon examination, was found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being almost a month subsequent to Dr. Atterbury's collation, which rendered the latter null and void. Hereupon, being returned to London, he contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his predecessor, to a certain place; where he desired him to antedate his resignation; and, instead of the 5th of August, to date it the 8th of July, that so it might be reconciled to his letters patent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who thought the proposal a very odd one, desired a day's time to consider of it; and, having advised with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who all assured him the practice was both scandalous and dangerous, he sent a civil letter to Dr. Atterbury, excusing himself for not complying with his request. When the Doctor found this step ineffectual, he took another no less extraordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to prevail with a considerable Officer in Chancery to alter the date of the resignation in the original record. But this proposal was likewise rejected; and so the public instruments continued irregular."

* Indorsed, "Sept. 28, 1704, Dr. Kennett; Lord Chief Justice Holt's Opinion."

it

it was agreed there was more in it than they apprehended: but it was objected, that the Deanery was a donative, and the Bishop no judge of the Queen's collation to it. I said the Local Statutes made it a presentative dignity, and the Bishop was to institute the person presented; and that indeed all Deans were to have their possession according to the rules of their own respective Churches, and might be refused if not qualified according to those Local Statutes; as in the instance of Mr. Simon Lowth who brought letters patent of King James II. to the Deanery of Rochester, and yet was refused, because he was neither Bachelor nor Doctor in Divinity, as the Statutes of that Church required, &c. It was then agreed, that if Dr. Atterbury required the Bishop's Institution, the Bishop was judge of his legal capacity to be so instituted. And then the question would be, whether the Bishop's objection was any legal bar. I recited the words of p. 214, as well as I could, and urged the Statute 13 Elizabeth. It was thought that those words were false and scandalous enough; but another question was, whether they were *directly contrary or repugnant* to the Royal Supremacy; and even supposing them so, whether there could be the penalty of a refusal before the conviction of a crime; and so on, with no resolution of judgment in the matter: it seemed rather to be their opinion, that it was a very good cause of demurr, but would be a dubious cause of rejection.

I give your Lordship this faithful account of the conversation, for your Lordship to improve into what use your Lordship please.

Your Lordship's most humble servant, W. K.

106. FROM

106. FROM DR. GIBSON *.

MY LORD,

LAMBETH, SEPT. 28, 1704.

I HAVE pressed Dr. Kennett to hasten Mr. King's opinion; and he says he did it by Tuesday night's post, which would reach him on Wednesday; so that we expect a return before Sunday: and when it comes to us, it shall be with your Lordship as soon as the post can bring it. I hoped to send you the opinions of Mr. Salkeld and Mr. Broderick inclosed in this; and to that end, went over to the Temple this morning: but I cannot have them before to-morrow morning; so we must be content to lose one post. I observe, in general, that they have their eye much upon the words of the Statute, *directly contrary or repugnant* (as I hinted to your Lordship by the last post, and have since had a fresh occasion to observe it); reckoning that the contrariety alledged must be as express as words can make it; otherwise the Counsel with whom the Court may advise in this matter, however in their own minds they may condemn the doctrine as false and pernicious, will have that handle to give a favourable opinion; and, what they may probably reckon will be most acceptable as matters stand, that it comes not within the Statute; and, by consequence, institution cannot be denied upon it. To fence against this, I have particularly desired the opinion of Mr. Broderick upon your Statutes and the form of the Letters Patent, whether institution

* Indorsed, "Dr. Gibson; Lord S's. Opinion &c. in the Dean's case; Atterbury."

be necessary? or whether your Lordship may, at least can be obliged to give it, upon an instrument directed to the Chapter? If it be clear that you may or ought to refuse upon that head, the other may remain *sub judice*, and he be left to procure his admittance by immediate application to the Chapter. That other exception (the Letters Patent bearing date before the resignation of Dr. Grahme), if it be true, is another full and sufficient objection. Your brother promised me to get the dates of both instruments, but he had not done it when I called last: if he have been at the offices, he will, probably, let your Lordship know the effect of his searches by this post.

But as to the main point, the business of the Supremacy, his Grace * directs me to acquaint you, that he refers it to your consideration (the suggestion, as near as I can guess, comes from the great hand whose advice you chiefly desired; though his Grace, under obligations to the contrary I suppose, will not directly say so), whether it may be sufficient to *re-scribere* in the general manner wherein you have laid the case before Sir Charles Hedges, and by him before her Majesty? or whether, in regard of the nicety and tenderness of this matter, the inclination of the persons it may come before at Court, and the construction that will probably be put by them (and represented to a Superior Power) upon this stand which your Lordship has made, as if it were wholly the effect of a personal quarrel, without any real foundation in the thing; whether, upon these accounts, it would not be necessary for your Lordship to draw up a plain state of the case, consisting

* Abp. Tenison; to whom Dr. Gibson was then Chaplain.

of the words objected against, and your Lordship's reasons why you conceive them very fit to be censured, as impeaching her Majesty's Supremacy, and also why you reckon yourself impowered in Law to do right to the Supremacy by this denial of institution.

If it happen that, after the advice of Counsel, you find cause to deny institution, then he thinks the representation (which may best be done by way of memorial to the Queen, by the hands of her Secretary) should conclude with an humble reference of the whole to her Majesty's wisdom, and your praying her instructions concerning her further pleasure; by which means, your Lordship delivers your own conscience, and satisfies them that your grounds of suspending were very material. But if it appears that your Lordship ought not in Law to give institution upon letters patent directed to the Chapter, and that you may safely found a denial upon that; then, in your memorial, to lay down that as the reason of your denial, and to add, by way of corroboration, your objections at large against the principles of the man, and why you conceive them to be a just cause of denial, though that other did not stand in your way: and to conclude, without any such submission of the case to her Majesty's determination as may be safe and necessary in the other case, because here you are supposed to deny upon a clear foundation. His Grace wishes that the other obnoxious passages in that paragraph had made part of the charge; as tying him up from such evasive interpretations as he may soften those general words into; and therefore thinks that, in the memorial, they ought to be recited as plain proofs, that by the

distinction charged upon him, he meant not only in words, but in thing, to abridge her Majesty's Supremacy, and to introduce a co-ordinate one. And this co-ordinate authority being the Parliament, it will, without doubt, be insinuated to the Members of the House of Commons, that he has suffered for assisting their power: which makes it still the more necessary to draw up such a plain state of the case, to shew the repugnancy of his doctrine to Statutes, Canons, Articles, and the current sense of Lawyers and Divines, and to have it in readiness as there shall be occasion; though your Lordship should be of opinion that as to the Queen no such memorial is necessary or convenient: for he only refers that to your Lordship's consideration, though I see plainly it is his own judgment, and have cause to believe that it is suggested as above. He thinks it should be sent first to your brother, or some other hand, for the advice of Counsel; and, being approved, be delivered to the Secretary. The opinions of our Counsel may assist you in it (if you think it fit and expedient to be done); and, as to them, no time shall be lost; nor can there, I think, be any doubt of your having two, if not three, by the next post.

Mr. Secretary Harley is in Shropshire, and returns not before the 14th of October.

Mr. Snow is your Lordship's humble servant; and hopes to live to present you with a glass of better wine at his chamber than any that grows upon the borders of Scotland. The old man has been ill these three or four days; but, this evening, is as brisk again as ever. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

E. GIBSON.

P. S.

P. S. Since I wrote my Letter, his Grace sent for me, and dictated from a paper (which confirms me in the conjecture I made before, as to the great hand) the following remarks; intended for your Lordship's assistance in compiling the memorial. When you read the passages, you will see the tendency and proper application of them. E. G.*

“Consider the difference between the words of the Act, and the words of the Article; in which may lay a difficulty.—Note, that Dr. Atterbury's book speaks not of the Legislative Powers, but of the Supremacy of Administration, Peruse 21 H. VIII. c. 1.; 1 Eliz. preamble, and paragraph the 17th; Oath of Supremacy; 8 Eliz. c. 1. s. 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, and the late Act about First Fruits.

“Memorial, directed to the Queen herself, setting forth the dangerous consequence of detracting any thing from the Supremacy, and how Dr. Atterbury's principles are destructive of it; and that it is a high point, not fit for your Lordship to pass over without some such representation. In the latter end, observe that Dr. Atterbury, in effect, denies your Lordship's power to grant what he asks, in his proviso concerning your authority to institute.”

* In Ballard's Collection of Letters in the Bodleian Library, are several Letters of Bp. Gibson's on the subject of his “*Britannia*,” his “*Codex*,” and the “*Saxon Chronicle*,” and others relative to himself—on his being Præcentor of Chichester, iv. 34—his being acquainted with the Abp. of Canterbury, v. 3—complains of Dr. Todd's ill-nature, 13, 15—induced by Dr. Hickes's persuasion to study the Law, 18, 19—goes to Lambeth, and is made Chaplain, 56—finds fault with Mr. Wanley's Latin style, vi. 41—his Letters concerning Dr. Atterbury, vii. 12, 36, 38, 39, 40, 48, 50, 51, 72, 78—gives his *Saxon Chronicle* to the Library at Carlisle, xviii. 2, 7, 10, 59.

107. FROM MR. CHANCELLOR PARSONS.

GLOUCESTER, OCT. 2, 1704.

RIGHT REV. AND MY MUCH HONOURED LORD,

THAT I am so late to congratulate your Lordship's just advancement to the Episcopal chair, was not disrespect, but a true fear of presumption, and my own unworthiness to attempt so bold a task, and that you had higher concerns upon you than to be at leisure to mind my mean addresses and congratulations.

And in this silence I had still continued, had I not been alarmed with the various reports of your contentions with your new Dean; as if he designed to wave the power of canonical obedience and institution. I cannot give my opinion of the Statutes of your Cathedral, which you best understand; but I know that, in this place, the Deans were always instituted by the Bishops, till Bishop Laud was Dean here, and then, out of a quarrel with Bishop Smyth (that had the character of a Puritan Bishop) he had a mandamus for installation *omisso Episcopo*, which was 1616; and, ever since, the Deans have been loosed from their just obedience; only the present Dean, by the advice of Archbishop Sancroft, took institution of the Bishop of Gloucester; and this was effected, at my request to the Archbishop, by showing of precedents.

If by this interposition I have offended, I hope your goodness will pardon the offence, since it had

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no malice in it, but a good intention to contribute to your ease; which is most heartily desired by,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

RICH. PARSONS.

108. TO MR. THRELKELD.

SIR,

APRIL 18, 1706.

WHEN you were here last week, I told you that it was not likely that Mr. Chancellor of York * would consult me in the sentence he was to give on your case. Accordingly he never did it: and yet, I find, judgment is given; and to-morrow appointed for your making an acknowledgemnt of your offence. I hope you will resolve to do it without giving any new provocation. I have not seen a copy of the Form that is sent to you: but if there be any circumstance in it that looks hard, the submission shall be as easy to you (provided only that it be grave and decent) as it can be made by any inter-mediation of

Your affectionate friend and brother,

W. CARLIOL.

* John Covel, of Christ's college, Cambridge; M.A. 1661; D.D. (by royal mandate) 1679; instituted Chancellor of York, Nov. 5, 1657; elected Master of Christ's College, 1688; died Dec. 19, 1722; and was buried in the chapel of his College.

109. FROM MR. MORTON*.

MY LORD,

OXENDON, APRIL 24, 1706.

YOUR Lordship's condescensive, generous, and kind reply to my Letter is a favour I receive with abundance of thankfulness. I shall always gratefully acknowledge that, and your other favours. You have been pleased to set before me a great many learned and ingenious observations concerning subterraneous trees, all which are of real use and service. I shall here offer my own narrow observations and thoughts upon that subject, in hopes your Lordship will continue to correspond thus freely with me, and being well assured I cannot submit them to a more candid and better judge.

In the Eastern part of Northamptonshire we have a skirt of that spacious Fen called the Great Level, where we frequently dig up Oaks and Firs. The Oaks that are dug up in some parts of our Fen are found dissevered from their roots; in other parts of it entire; only the extremities of the roots, as also of the branches and the bark, and some of the sap, is rotted off. There, where we find the trunks, we have usually the stumps of Oaks at no great dis-

* Of Emanuel college, Cambridge, B.A. 1691; M.A. 1695; Rector of Oxendon in Northamptonshire 1706; and author of "The Natural History of Northamptonshire; with some Account of the Antiquities; to which is annexed, a Transcript of Domesday-Book, so far as it relates to that County; by John Morton, M. A. Rector of Oxendon in the same County, and Fellow of the Royal Society, formerly of Emanuel College in Cambridge. Lond. 1712." Bp. Nicolson passes great encomiums on this book; and Mr. Bridges (H. 56) says, "Mr. Morton, the present incumbent of Great Oxendon, hath, with great learning, industry, and care, compiled the Northamptonshire History, &c."

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tance from them. We rarely, or never, meet with any whole Fir-trees, but often with the shoots of Firs; far more frequently with the Fir-tree shoots, than with their trunks. We likewise dig up broken limbs or branches of Fir-trees. In the same Fen we sometimes dig up Hazel and Sallow roots, and such remains of the bodies of them, as evidently shew that these too have been formerly reposed in the same place. Nuts also are found dispersedly lodged in the earth at the same depth with the subterranean Hazels; but oftentimes at too great distance to have been rotted off from the trees. In the fenny ground near Northolm, there was lately taken up the skeleton of a stag, that had not mewed his head. He lay entombed amongst a great company of Oaks. In digging in two other places of our Fen we have found the horns of stags, and nothing else of that animal. Some of the Oaks are much larger than any we have now growing in our forests. They all lay three or four feet deep in the earth. The Fir-tree trunks and roots, and the rest of these extraneous fossils, lie also much about the same depth.

There is, first, the soil, a very black and fertile earth of a more than ordinary lax consistence, one foot thick.

Secondly, Turf Earth (so we usually call it here, Peat Earth it is called in other places), a light, hollow, tenacious, and fungy earth, which in the turfpits cuts like butter. It contains a great many fibrous roots of herbs, and some few flaggy, shriveled leaves, and hollow reed-like stalks. A piece of it dry rather breaks and snaps than crumbles. The inner surface of a broken piece of it exhibits specks and streaks of a colour and gloss like that of stone-pitch

pitch or bitumen. Upon the fire it has somewhat of a bituminous smell. The blacker and harder it is, the better it will burn. It yields a lasting, strong, and even, though no distant heat; and a bright and lively though no distant flame.

The vegetable stratum will not burn at all like this. The turf-earth has been often tried for grain, but could never be brought to bear a crop of it. Indeed I am fully satisfied by several observations and experiments, which I need not here relate to your Lordship, that the Turf-earth (as we call it) is only a farrago of vegetable bodies compacted together, and preserved by a bitumen. Below this second stratum there is,

Thirdly, A stratum of Argilla; a very dense and tough sort of clay, as free from admixture of sand, and of all other sorts of terrestrial matter, as any clay I have seen. It is this very sort of earth that was wrought in the pottery not far from Peterborough some years since. I am not to pass by one particular about the stumps of the Oaks and Firs: they generally stand upright in a growing posture upon the bed of clay, at the bottom of the peat. I say generally, for some few of them lie sideways. Sir William Dugdale is of opinion, that they grew in the place where we now find them. The clay, which he calls the firm earth underneath the moor, he supposes was once the outmost stratum, the surface of this part of the country in times past; and that the peat earth and the soil are of later date, have been produced out of the water that before the draining of this level was wont to stagnate there. I must own, I can by no means assent to this hypothesis. I have been thus circumstantial in describing

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ing the peat, in order to shew that it is a peculiar sort of terrestrial matter; that the earth above it is of another kind; and that they form as distinct strata, as the soil, and the sand or clay underneath it do upon the hills, and are consequently of the same standing and date. I see not how they could be disposed thus orderly and regularly by subsiding from a mass of water of ordinary depth, such as that which formerly covered these parts. Be the Fenny Lake (as Sir William Dugdale is pleased to call it) as deep as can well be imagined, suppose it also to be copiously saturated with vegetable earth and with bitumen; still we can expect no more of that vegetable and bituminous matter, but that it should settle so as the clay, sand, and other matter, that are washed out of the sides of a pond or pit, we find does, into one common confused mass at the bottom of it. After all, from whence should this bitumen come? It is plain it could not be brought down thither by deterrations, or by land-floods. Neither could it be generated of the stagnant water, any more than sand, ochre, clay, or any other earth. And I dare say, had Sir William Dugdale observed that there was the like sort of bituminous earth, the second stratum upon the sides of the mountains in Derbyshire, &c. as it is here, he would not have asserted that it grew from the long stagnation of water. Then as to the firm earth (underneath this new surface) wherein, as that ingenious gentleman imagines, the Oaks and Fir-trees grew, it is really altogether a stiff and churlish clay; and to me it seems impossible that these, or indeed any other trees, should ever grow and prosper in a bed of mere clay. This, here, I am sure is little better; and as
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contrary to the nature of that mould which is the proper matter of all sort of vegetables, as can well be imagined. It is of such a dense consistence, that scarce any water, without which vegetation will not succeed, can sink down into it; and in several respects is at least as unfit for producing tall, stately, timber-trees, such as these are, as the moor itself. Sir William Dugdale has observed, that Oaks and Firs will not grow and thrive where water for the most part stands, or in such a moor as this is. It is indeed an observation so well known to the Fendwellers, that they never go about to plant an Oak upon the moor. Then, that the Firs were indigenous of this Turf-moor, is still less likely. Would a Fir-tree grow in a moory earth, in a watery flat, together with flags and reeds, with Willows, Alders, and other aquatics, I should then incline to think they were natives of this place. But they grow naturally, it seems, upon hills and mountains, or at least in a country extremely different from this both in the nature and situation of the ground. Indeed there is reposed such a miscellany of vegetable bodies in the peat earth, some that will grow only in pools and rivers, or in marshy ground; for instance, those of the arundinaceous kind; others that delight in a higher situation, and will never grow in a morass, such are the Oaks and Firs; that it is manifest enough they could never grow together, so promiscuously as now they lie. But, admitting the Oaks and Fir-trees grew here in the turf-fen, and were broke down by winds, or that they grew (as some would rather have it) in the firm ground upon the borders of the turf-fen, and were from thence conveyed hither by some particular inundations, I, for my part, cannot
account

account for their being lodged at the depth and in the manner we now find them. How Oaks and Firs, that do not very quickly sink in water, should here sink down to the depth of four feet, nay of several fathoms in some places, through a tough and stringy earth, I cannot explain. But that Hazel, a shrub or small tree, with a great many spreading boughs—that the stag's horns, disjoined as we find them from the body—and that the nuts—should drill themselves a way through four foot of earth, though never so soft and pappy, is still harder to imagine.

These subterraneous trees in their position agree with those your Lordship speaks of in Briggsteer Moss. They lie mostly with their ends to the South West and North East. Twenty in thirty have this position, which I do not pretend to account for; that particular I leave to Dr. Woodward. But indeed I am inclinable to believe, that they were transferred to this place, and were lodged here by the general deluge; because I know no other way of accounting for all the circumstances of them. The terrestrial matter that covers them I find disposed into strata, and in just such a condition as it is in the upper parts of the county, in a natural and undisturbed state; which intimates that it is here also in a natural or original state. Now how the Oaks &c. could ever have been reposed there since the compilation of the strata, without a confusion and intermixture of each, I cannot imagine. In fact there is no such intermixture, nor the least marks of it, though the Oaks in some places lie as thick as they can well lie; from whence I infer, that they were lodged there at the compilation of the strata,
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in the latter end of the deluge, in the manner explained by Dr. Woodward.

My Lord, I am conscious there are a great many imperfections in this tedious and miserable scrawl. Pray pardon me, my Lord. I believe there will not be so many in my next, if your Lordship is pleased to tell me freely of my mistakes, which I earnestly desire of you. I find that nothing makes a greater impression upon me, than what is said by your Lordship.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's
very much obliged, and obedient servant,

JOHN MORTON.

110. FROM MR. FORBES *.

MY LORD,

EDINBURGH, 29 APRIL, 1706.

I COULD not let your carrier return without my hearty acknowledgments for the honour of your two kind letters. But at the same time I must beg leave to expostulate with you for not being so free as to point at the true defects and mistakes in my treatise of "Church Lands and Tithes," though earnestly desired, and most capable to do it: when a person of inferior abilities has taken upon him, without a

* "Many particulars relating to the ecclesiastical revenues, church benefices, religious houses, &c. are interspersed in "A Treatise on Church Lands and Tythes, by William Forbes, Advocate; Edinburgh, 1705; small 8vo." Gough's British Topography, vol. II. p. 625.

commission,

commission, to charge me unjustly and rudely with many pretended ones.

It is strange, my Lord, that any body should have offered you the trouble of perusing my trifling remarks upon so trifling a subject as the parson of Banchrie's observations; for, had they been worth the while, you might have expected them from my own hand. But the truth is, they were cursorily writ, and in a strain too I am not fond of, in order to mortify a self-conceited scribbler, who had so unmannerly taken my innocent book to task. No persons here, I know of, except his friend Pitmedden, were sorry for the harsh treatment he met from me. I had indeed dealt more tenderly with his age and character, if himself, who sets up for a Censor of the age, had not dishonoured both, by going out of his road to animadvert so saucily upon what he understood not: for I hate abusive language like Hell; and would have been so far from pelting him with hard names or words for writing against me, had he done it discreetly, that I would have thanked him for troubling his wise head about so young an Author, to however little purpose.

But when, my Lord, I endeavour to vindicate what I have written from his aspersions, I would not be thought so vain as to fancy that my book is altogether perfect, and free of errors and escapes. I know myself better than to harbour any such opinion of my mean performance; whatever you are pleased to say of it by way of compliment. Therefore I renew my request, that you would yet give yourself the trouble, and me the honour, to signify, without reserve or ceremony, what you disapprove of, or want in it; and I shall be ready to own and rectify what
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is amiss. The reason I am so importunate upon this head with your Lordship is, because I know none that is able to give me satisfaction therein, or whose judgment I could rest upon more securely in matters of Civil or Ecclesiastical Antiquity. And your natural humanity encourageth to this boldness,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble

and most obedient servant,

W. FORBES.

111. TO THE EARL OF THANET*.

MY LORD,

MAY 9, 1706.

I VERY heartily and humbly thank your Lordship for your favourable acceptance of my free thoughts about the Chapelries of Temple-Sowerby and Milburn. As to the present Rector's suing (or seeking) after any of the lost rights of the Parsonage, there is little to be expected; since, as far as I can learn, he has given up every thing demanded both by Sir R. Sandford and Mr. Dalston. When the salary of five pounds was first settled at Sowerby the oblations were considerable; and these, we may believe, made up a competency for the support of the Curate. Upon the Reformation, they failed; and then the Rector of the parish seems to have been first prevailed on to contribute something towards his maintenance: but, as this was voluntary,

* Thomas Tufton, Earl of Thanet, 1634—1729.

so it was also in a less proportion than what was paid by the inhabitants, who were chiefly concerned to pay for their own ease. I should not, my Lord, be against the Parson's continuing to club with them; but (with humble submission) I cannot but think it extremely new and unreasonable, that the whole burthen should be removed from the shoulders of those whose proper business it is to bear it. I do not say this in favour of the present incumbent; whose conduct I shall not offer either to justify or excuse. I do only propose it humbly to your Lordship's consideration, whether a timely provision for the sharing of the expence betwixt the succeeding parsons of Kirkbythore and their parishioners (who have the benefit of the two Chapels of Ease) be not most agreeable to equity and good conscience.

My Lord, the deprived Bishop of Ely * is (to my knowledge) in very needy circumstances; having a large family, and no support out of the common bank of Charity: but, if your Lordship thinks fit to have Mr. Carlton's sum thrown together into the public stock, your commands will be punctually observed by, my Lord,

Yours, &c.

W. CARLIOL.

* Dr. Francis Turner, Fellow of New College, Oxford; M.A. 1662; B. and D.D. 1669; Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1670—1679; canon residentiary of St. Paul's; Dean of Windsor, and Bishop of Rochester 1683; translated to Ely 1684; deprived 1688.

112. TO DR. ATTERBURY,
DEAN OF CARLISLE.

MR. DEAN,

MAY 19, 1707.

THIS day I begin my ordinary (Triennial) Visitation of the City and Diocese of Carlisle; as my Predecessors have been accustomed to do*. And I intended to have opened it (as they usually did) with some enquiries in the Chapter-house: but, on an account which my brother John has given me of your expressing your readiness to settle all matters in difference there (in a peaceable manner) at your next coming down, I am willing to defer my calling upon your Society; hoping that you will ease me of that part of this year's trouble.

One thing more he tells me, which I cannot but mention to you. He says, you were pleased to acquaint him that you had a promise under my hand that I would never give Sowerby to Mr. Whittingdale. This, I am verily persuaded, is a mistake: and I am very sure that I have a promise under yours (about the same date that mine, if ever made, must bear) which was not performed; and yet it was (in my opinion at least) of more consequence than the other. These mutual charges will be best answered at our meeting here.

This promise I do now frankly and deliberately make, that no member of the Chapter shall be ever countenanced by me, in any disrespectful behaviour towards yourself; and you will allow me to hope for a suitable return to, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

W. CARLIOL.

* The Bishop endeavoured to appease his Chapter by visiting them in pursuance of the power given by the Statutes.

113. TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD *.

MY LORD,

MAY 20, 1707.

I GIVE your Lordship this trouble at the request of an honest neighbouring Clergyman (Mr. Walker), the Vicar of the parish where I live. He has a son in Oxford, who will apply to your Lordship for Deacon's orders the next Ember-week. His father is aged and infirm; and desires to have the young man's assistance in his cure. If in other particulars (whereof your Lordship will judge) the candidate brings a satisfactory account of himself, I beg leave to certify that his title is good; and that a sufficient care will be taken for his future maintenance. I am, with a very hearty respect,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,
and poor brother,

W. CARLIOL.

* William Talbot, born at Stanton Castle, Staffordshire, was entered, when 18, a gentleman-commoner of Baliol College, Oxford, in 1674; B.A. 1677; M.A. 1680. He was rector of Berfield, Berks; and married — Crispe, of Chipping Norton; dean of Worcester 1691 (on the ejection of Dr. Hickes); D.D. 1692; Bishop of Oxford 1699; Dean of the Chapel Royal 1714; Bishop of Salisbury 1715; of Durham 1721. He died Oct. 10, 1730; and was privately buried at St. James's, Westminster. His first wife dying without issue, he married, secondly, the daughter of Alderman King, of London; by whom he had eight sons (the eldest of whom became Lord Chancellor) and seven daughters. Twelve of the Bishop's Sermons were published in 1731, in one vol. 8vo.; in some of which he asserts the notion of Dr. Samuel Clarke upon the Trinity. He was strongly attached to that Divine; and has been heard to lament greatly, that he could not give the Doctor the best preferment he had in his disposal, by reason of his refusing to subscribe to the Articles.

114. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY LORD,

MAY 23, 1706.

I HUMBLY beg your Grace's advice and directions in a new difficulty which Dr. Todd has put upon me. As Vicar of Penrith, he has nominated his Curate to be a Churchwarden; and, by virtue of a Surrogation from the Chancellor, has sworn him into the office. I had promised the young man, who is sober and well-deserving, to ordain him Priest on Sunday last: but this voluntary engaging himself in secular business (as I take it to be) stopped my hand; and I know not whether (in strictness, instead of being capable of new orders) he has not rashly incurred the censure of the Seventy-sixth Canon. How to absolve him from his oath, or how to let him officiate as Curate, where he is also a Churchwarden, I cannot tell. In this extraordinary case I am forced (very unwillingly) to trouble your Grace with requesting your instructions, or your Chancellor's; which will be punctually and thankfully observed by yours, &c. **W. CARLIOL.**

115. FROM MR. LANGHORNE.

MY LORD,

PENRITH, MAY 24, 1706.

YOUR Lordship's letter of the 20th instant was both a surprise and trouble to me. I had not (in my last, dated the 17th instant) requested of you not
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to press my removal from my new office, if you had not, when I was at Rose last, declared clearly (if I am not very far mistaken) that it was not inconsistent with my character as Deacon. You then proposed to have me absolved from my Oath, which I readily consented to. I am sure there is nothing in the office to make it desirable. But, since I had undertaken it, I could not find a way to retreat decently, and without being the subject of the town's talk and diversion. However that be, I shall very readily be determined by your Lordship in this, or any affair else relating to me as one of your Clergy, without any violent ways of compulsion: neither do I see any reason why I should be so fool-hardy in this case, as to expose myself to so much danger as running directly against the mouth of the Canon you mention. Therefore, to make both your Lordship and myself easy, I have declared myself to be out of the office of a Churchwarden, and refused to act as one last Wednesday; and shall take care for the future, not to intermeddle in offices of a Lay nature, or even but supposed to be so.

I return your Lordship my humble thanks for the favour of a copy of your opinion. I shall say nothing here about that, because I design to wait upon your Lordship as soon as I have an opportunity. In the interim I desire you will esteem me,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

JOS. LANGHORNE.

116. FROM MR. MADOX *.

MY LORD,

LONDON, JUNE 8, 1706.

I SHALL be very glad to hear of your Lordship's health, or to receive your commands, if your Lordship has leisure from your other affairs, to honour me with a line. I think I shall have occasion, in

* Thomas Madox, Esq. afterwards Historiographer to King George the First. This excellent Antiquary, with a most indefatigable industry, collected and explained, at different times, a vast number of records relating to the antient laws and constitution of this country; the knowledge of which tends greatly to the illustration of English History. He has, by his unwearied labours in this way, obliged the readers as well as the compilers of such history: for whoever would succeed in writing a general history, should be intimately acquainted with the minuter parts of which it consists, a competent knowledge of which is necessary in every reader that seeks for more than bare amusement. Mr. Madox, in the treatises he published himself, and in his posthumous work [the *Baronia Anglica*, 1735,] has supplied both with a noble apparatus. It was in 1702 that he first distinguished himself in these toilsome researches; when, under the patronage of the learned and polite Lord Somers, he presented the early fruits of them to the world, in his "*Formulare Anglicanum*;" in 1711 his "*History of the Exchequer*;" and in 1722 his "*Firma Burgi*." He died Jan. 13, 1727; and his "*Baronia Anglica*" was posthumously published in 1735. Besides the works above enumerated, this laborious Antiquary made large historical collections upon various subjects, relating to the laws, customs, and manners of England. About eighty volumes of MSS. (nearly all in his own hand-writing) among which are forty volumes of Collections for a History of the Feudal Law, form a part of that invaluable national repository the British Museum: to which they were bequeathed by his widow, as an addition to the Cottonian Library, and are an inexhaustible mine of treasure to the Historian, the Lawyer, and the Antiquary." Some others also are in private hands.

one of my prefaces, to mention the names of the Lords' Committees who were in person at the Tower of London the winter before last, and at the Chapter-house at Westminster last winter, when I had the honour to wait on them. I do not now stand exactly upon their precedency, but name them as they occur.

At the Tower of London; *viz.*

Earl of Stamford.

Lord Poulet.

Lord Grey of Werk.

Lord Somers.

Lord Halifax.

Bishop of Chichester.

Bishop of Carlisle.

At the Chapter-house last winter there were, I think, these Lords; *viz.*

Earl of Rochester.

Earl of Stamford.

Earl of Anglesey.

Earl of Sunderland.

Lord Poulet.

Lord Touneshend. Quære.

Lord Somers.

Lord Halifax.

Bishop of Carlisle.

And, I think, there were two or three Lords whose persons I did not know. It would be a favour if your Lordship can recollect the names that may be wanting in this second list: I think the first list is right. In my preface to my Lord Somers, I excuse myself for not giving an account of the Records repositied in the Exchequer, for this reason amongst others, because your Lordship intends to give an account of Records, by way of supplement or

or continuation of your "Historical Library." I mean, I have projected to give that reason; but must say nothing of that kind, without your Lordship's permission. My meaning now, is only to acquaint your Lordship with these matters. It will be time enough, either to permit or forbid me to alledge that reason, as your Lordship shall please, when you come to London next Winter. Poor Mr. Thwaytes since his leg was cut off (of which, no doubt, your Lordship has heard) is in a very weak condition. I would relate a short story to your Lordship, but that I have not room in this paper. It seems about two or three months ago Mr. Dale opposed Mr. Holmes's being Mr. Petyt's Deputy: and now it appears that Mr. Dale has a mind to have a key to the principal office, and to make searches, &c. himself, together with George Holmes. And Mr. Dale has drawn up certain rules to be observed in the Record-office, which are likely to be passed, and signed by Mr. Petyt. For, in regard Mr. Petyt never comes to the Tower himself, he is afraid Mr. Dale should complain of him, and may be frightened into any thing.

But I shall become tedious to your Lordship: so praying your Lordship's blessing, I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most respectful, and obedient servant,

THO. MADOX.

117. TO DR. TODD.

BROTHER TODD,

JUNE 11, 1706.

THE irregular choice which was made of Mr. Langhorne to be a Churchwarden, obliges me to send a monition, to you and your parishioners, to elect another in his room. Instead of doing that by the hand of a proper officer, I hope it will be enough to give you this intimation of your duty in that matter; and that you will very speedily signify to me that a new one is accordingly chosen and sworn.

I am your affectionate brother,

W. CARLIOL.

118. TO MR. LANGHORNE.

MR. LANGHORNE,

JUNE 11, 1706.

SINCE you have expressed your hearty sorrow for your taking so rash and irregular an Oath, as was that of a Churchwarden, I do now acquaint you that (as soon as the Doctor has certified that there is another chosen and sworn in your place) I shall think you capable of receiving Priests' orders; which, at the first opportunity, will be conferred on you by

Your affectionate friend,

W. CARLIOL.

119. TO

119. TO DR. TODD.

BROTHER TODD,

JUNE 13, 1706.

I HAD your Letter, by my servant, on Tuesday. Part of it I take to be slanderous; and, I am sure, it is untrue: as, when you tell me, “that I have *discouraged piety and conformity in your parish; that I threatened Mr. Langhorne with excommunication, and am under suffusions of prejudice, &c.*” Your comparing my acting as a Magistrate and Justice of the Peace with another Clergyman’s submitting himself to a *servile* Lay-office, is very singular. What you say of the Chancellor’s judicial acts and mine being the same in the eye of the Law, is true: but (with submission) nothing to the purpose. The question before us is, “Whether a Churchwarden ought to be admitted to Priests’ orders, or allowed to officiate as a Curate in the same parish where he is a Churchwarden?” Now the Chancellor has neither the power of conferring orders, nor granting licences; and therefore these matters fall not under his cognizance. In short, I have consulted my Metropolitan; and his Grace will not think it any *intolerable breach of the rules of friendship and correspondence*, if I give you a transcript of part of his Letter, in his own words: which are these:

[“Upon the whole, I cannot but think *, &c.”]

Thus far my Lord Archbishop. Now you very confidently affirm, that both the Canons and Reform. LL. Eccl. require the old Churchwardens to elect

* No more of this Letter is preserved.

new ones. I take both these authorities to countenance the proposal here made by my Lord of York. *Omnes Ecclesiarum Oeconomi Parochianorum et Ministri sui unito consensu eligentur*, says the Eighty-ninth Canon; and *Gardiani à Parochianorum majori parte eligentur*; Reform. LL. p. 93.

I have a very hearty kindness for Mr. Langhorne; and am desirous to give him full powers for the discharge of the cure at Penrith, or any other, as soon as I can have this single incapacity removed. He has assured me, that he has actually “declared himself out of the office of a Churchwarden.” And I desire only, that, in testimony of his being dismissed, the Minister and Parishioners (according to the directions of the Canon, and of our worthy Metropolitan) may proceed to appoint another to officiate in his stead. If, notwithstanding the account that he has given me under his hand, I find that he still continues in his new office, I may, perhaps, be tempted to have other thoughts of him hereafter. For the present, without any more arguing, I shall forthwith proceed to the observance of the latter part of my Lord Archbishop’s advice; unless you prevent me by a readier compliance with the former.

You make very free indeed with the unknown writer of that paper which I sent to Mr. Langhorne; for whose judgment, nevertheless, I must ever have a great respect; though (as I presently told him) I am not of his opinion in his exposition of the Seventy-sixth Canon. I know of no one precedent of a Clergyman’s serving as a Churchwarden. You say there are *some*: but (if there be) precedents against Law are base rules to walk by. To conclude, Brother, I have no hard intentions towards you.

In

In the case of the late Curate, I humbled myself to set you at quiet: and in this, and some other occurrences since that time, I have not been forward in catching at those advantages which a resenting enemy might and would have taken against you. I am, and have ever been,

Yours, &c.

W. CARLIOL.

120. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY LORD,

JUNE 13, 1706.

ON Monday last I had the obliging honour of your Grace's kind letter; and the next morning I wrote to Dr. Todd, wishing him (without waiting for a formal monition) to call his parishioners together, and presently to elect a new Churchwarden in the room of his Curate: who had assured me, ten days ago, that he had actually quitted the office. This proposal is not yet complied with, because the Doctor has met with some precedents (as he tells me) that will justify the young Divine's continuing to officiate in both capacities. And in this country, my Lord, precedents (though never so directly contrary to the letter of the Law) are the chief rules by which some of us delight to walk. As soon as this point is adjusted, your Grace will give me leave to give you a farther account of the issue. Those instructions which your Grace has been pleased to give, shall be most punctually observed: but, I confess, I can hardly promise myself that comfort
in

in this case, which I have always hitherto met with, in obeying your commands. I have to deal with a man of an unaccountable temper; who, the more I study to humour and oblige him, is daily the more perverse. God forgive him!

I beseech God, &c.

W. CARLIOL.

121. TO DR. TODD.

JUNE 17, 1706.

I HAVE as great reason as yourself, Brother, to be weary of this epistolary commerce; finding every thing I write industriously misrepresented, and injuriously reflected on. However, to shew how inclinable I am to be at quiet, I make this farther proposal on what you have last offered. Since the old number of your Churchwardens was three, and you have now so many besides Mr. Langhorne, I shall not insist on your proceeding to any new election, provided you and those three certify me (under your hands) that you admit of his declining the office, and will not expect or require his acting in it. If this be not done immediately, he may retire again to his School, if he pleases: but he must not be suffered to officiate any longer as Curate where he is Churchwarden.

W. CARLIOL.

122. FROM

122. FROM ARCHDEACON PEARSON.

MY LORD,

YORK, JUNE 17, 1706.

I AM glad to find your Lordship has at last received his Grace's thoughts upon your Penrith case, and that they are so conformable to your Lordship's own opinion ; as I verily believe they will be to the sentiments of every man living, except the learned Doctor himself. Having been at Leeds all the last week, I have not yet had any opportunity of speaking to his Grace upon this subject, but intend to wait upon him to-morrow. If your Lordship has given him any account of the modest return the Doctor made to your Lordship's letter, his Grace must certainly be very much surprised at his insolence. And, in truth, (excepting the season of the year) I do not know what apology can be made for his behaviour. He seems to take it for granted, that upon your Lordship's refusing to ordain him Churchwarden, he may have orders from another Bishop ; but does not mention any authority that he has to ground his presumption upon. But he might have safely referred your Lordship to the next Canon to that which empowers the old Churchwardens to choose their successors, which is in some book or other that the world has never yet seen or heard of. I do not hear that they have any intimation at Bishops-thorpe of the Dean's calling there, in his way to Carlisle. But, if he has thoughts of being there so soon as your Lordship mentioned in your former letter, it is very likely the Doctor and he have concerted

certed the matter so as to meet there. And his ordering his gown to be left with Mr. Hildiard till he calls himself, makes me think the Doctor will be at York shortly: and the rather, because my Lord Preston is now returned from the Bath. I know not whether your Lordship will think it proper or no, to let some one or other transcribe the two last letters that have passed between your Lordship and the Doctor, and lay them before my Lord Archbishop. However, if it were not too much trouble, I could be very glad to have a copy of them, that I might have an opportunity of satisfying his Grace of the Doctor's dutiful way of proceeding, if there should be any occasion. For I know the smooth Dean's talent at putting fair glosses upon the foulest actions, and how industrious he will be to do it in favour of his friend. I am apt to think the Doctor has a great mind to be quit of Penrith, and would be glad of a pretence of some hard usage from your Lordship, which would help him to leave it with a better grace, and entitle him to the pity of some or other that will not much consider the reasons of his parting with it.

Clergymen's being Justices of Peace is an objection very obvious in this case, and what I have heard several times insisted upon in vindication of a Deacon-Churchwarden: but I think it admits of a very easy answer. For, though the Canons of the Church restrain the Clergy from secular offices in general; yet, wherever those Canons interfere either with the Prerogative of the Crown, or the common usage of the Realm, they are of no force: and, therefore, seeing it is a prerogative inherent in the Crown to require any subject, whether ecclesiastical or temporal,

poral, to serve in that office of Justice of Peace, and that prerogative is supported by an immemorial usage and custom ; I cannot think that a Clergyman, by taking upon him that office, when required and authorized to do it by the Prince, becomes obnoxious to any canonical censure upon that account ; because, in that case, no Canon can be of force against him, or any way obligatory upon him. And if any man could put the case of a Clergyman's being Churchwarden upon the same foot, I should readily subscribe to Dr. Todd's opinion : but I do not know how either Law or Prerogative can be brought in, to give the least countenance in this case ; and therefore, the prescription and appointment of the Canons must be of force as to this office, though not as to that of a Justice of Peace. I fear I express myself a little confusedly on this point ; but your Lordship will guess at my meaning. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful servant,

WILL. PEARSON.

123. TO MR. FORBES.

SIR,

JUNE 25, 1706.

I SHALL make no apology for this late return of my thanks for your last kind Letter. I shall need none, when I have told you that I have hitherto been endeavouring to obey your commands by finding faults in your book ; which, as yet, I have not been able (even with my reformed Brother's assistance

ance) to discover. There are several particulars in it, wherein you and I differ in opinion; but I dare no more say that you are in the wrong, than I have the confidence to affirm that I am (most certainly) in the right. For example, I am very loath to believe that Prelates first drove the inhabitants of Scotland into superstition and idolatry; or that there is any greater propensity in the order of Bishops to such abominations as these, than in that of Presbyters. Of the two, I should be apt to fancy it more the interest of the Parochial Mass-Priests to bring men under the delusions of worshiping the gaudy images and pretended reliques of Saints; and paying round prices for their so doing.

Again, I shall never quarrel with you about the strength or infirmities of those arguments which have been produced in maintenance of the *Jus Divinum* of Tithes; since I am abundantly convinced that the most unanswerable proof we have against the modern disputants amongst the Quakers and Anabaptists is, that our claim of right is founded upon the Laws of the Land. Here is the true basis of all our temporal enjoyments and possessions; and, for my own part, when I am once satisfied that my rights have such a legal establishment as this, I shall never desire to fetch my title any higher. This, by some of a more inquisitive nature, may be reckoned a sort of laziness in my constitution: and so perhaps it is, since I find it a very hard matter to shake it off.

A third particular there is, wherein I cannot help differing in judgment both from you and Sir James Dalrymple; and yet I am fully resolved not to have any deadly feuds with either of you upon the subject-matter of the debate. I cannot, for the

Y

present,

present, help thinking that your old Scotch *Keldees* were no more of the Presbyterian persuasion than the first Monks of Canterbury; and that they were (full out) as Episcopal as the present Benedictines, either in France or Italy.

These varieties of thought, in points wherein education may have given us a different turn or biass, will never hinder me from making you my most hearty and sincere acknowledgments for the benefits and good increase of knowledge that I have had from your book. I shall ever gratefully own, that this has taught me more of the true nature of Patronages, Ecclesiastical Revenues, Annates, Anns, Tacks, Mortifications, &c. than ever I had learned before; and that I now understand, better than I did, what is the just matter and manner of Tithing, and what sort of actions may be brought thereon.

I am ever, Sir,

Your obliged and humble servant,

W. CARLIOL.

124. TO MR. CHANCELLOR TULLIE*.

MR. VICE-DEAN, JUNE 28, 1706.

I HAVE considered the matter proposed to me last night. I cannot see that you have any occasion to protest against the Doctor's † refusing the key;

* Thomas Tullie, of Edmund-Hall, Oxford; M.A. 1678; Chancellor of Carlisle 1683; Prebendary of the third stall 1684; Vice-dean 1702; Receiver-general in 1706; Prebendary of the fourth stall 1720; died 1740.

† Dr. Atterbury, then Dean of Carlisle.

but

but may, upon his continued obstinacy, with the consent of the Chapter and your joint order thereupon, break the lock which he will not open. You may also (I think) seal any instrument, whereunto the Dean's consent needs not be required; and, for such as (by the direction of your Statutes) are to be intimated to him, I am of opinion that he has no negative in his absence. You are to request his concurrence: but, if he gives not his assent, even these matters may be dispatched without him. This has ever been the sense of the Statutes in common interpretation; and this shall (on all occasions) be adjudged to be so by

Your affectionate brother,

W. CARLIOL.

125. FROM MR. ARCHDEACON PEARSON.

MY LORD,

JUNE 29, 1706.

I GAVE you by the last post, in great haste, a copy of our address; which, I suppose, my Lord intends to send up this day. But what reception it will meet with at Court (when we have taken no notice of the great services of her Majesty's Generals, that seems to be the Shiboleth at this time) God knows. It was drawn up and approved of, before I ever heard of any such thing's being intended; and it did not become me to make any exceptions afterwards. Otherwise, I should have thought that prayer, "that her Majesty's reign might *be easy* to her subjects, and that she might transmit our Con-

stitution *safe and secure* to our posterity," might have allowed of some alteration; considering what disputes there are among us touching those points at present; which may render them liable to misconstruction, as if they argued some distrust in us.

I was very much surprised at the copy of Dr. Todd's letter, which your Lordship sent me *. Certainly, there never was so much insolence towards one of your Lordship's character, as he has expressed in that long-winded parenthesis with which he begins his address. And, in truth, his taxing your Lordship with being *a discourager of piety and conformity in his Parish*, is what, I should think, he ought to be called to an account for; unless his venting this scandalous aspersion only in a private letter to yourself may skreen him from censure; which, I suppose, it would not. Though it is likely his public conversation may run in the same strain with this.

His contempt of what I had writ upon this subject, I am very little concerned at; it is no more, perhaps, than it deserved. Though I do not find that any thing the Doctor offers has much influence upon me to alter my opinion, either as to a Churchwardenship's being a temporal office, or that such an office incapacitates a man for orders while he continues in it. It falls out, a little unfortunately, that I am busied in making a Sermon for the Assizes, at the request of the High Sheriff; otherwise, I should have taken some pains in considering this matter more fully. And, it is probable, before this present work is over, there will be no occasion for the other.

* See before, p. 314.

I do not understand Mr. Chancellor's * notion in this case; that though he would not have had this office forced upon Langhorne, yet, he would allow him to take it voluntarily, though to the prostitution of his character. For, if his order did not legally incapacitate him for the office, I do not see what reason can be alledged, why the parishioners might not have made choice of him, and forced it upon him; and, if it did, his submitting voluntarily to take it upon himself would not make it legal, and all he has done can have no effect in Law, and the parish is still without a Churchwarden.

Poor Mr. Crofts, at Bishops-thorpe, died suddenly, last Wednesday; and was buried in the Minster, near his old Lord and Master Archbishop Dolben, last night. He had used always to talk so much of his *Gawd* and Silver, that every body concluded he was very rich. But, to the surprise of the family, they find not above fourteen or fifteen pounds; and an account of debts that he owes much greater than that will amount to. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful servant,

WILL. PEARSON.

* Mr. Tullie; see p. 322.

126. TO MR. CHANCELLOR TULLIE.

MR. VICE-DEAN,

JUNE 30.

ON Thursday last my Lord of York and his Chapter signed an address to her Majesty, to the same effect with the inclosed. In this, I have kept to the very words in the title of the Thanksgiving Prayers; with the insertion of one small parenthesis, which (I hope) none of you will dislike. I desire you will leave a space for Mr. Dean's subscription; and, since he is now at London, you will perhaps think him the most proper person to present it. I shall not disagree to this; nor to any thing else that may look like a testimony of that unity amongst ourselves, which shall always be endeavoured and prayed for by

Your affectionate brother,

W. CARLIOL.

P. S. I had your Letters yesterday; and am well satisfied with the contents of them.

 127. FROM THE VICE-DEAN OF CARLISLE,
AND TWO OF THE PREBENDARIES.

MY LORD,

CARLISLE, JUNE 30, 1706.

WE have signed the Address, and do readily concur with your Lordship in your inclinations to have it presented by Mr. Dean. We leave it to your Lordship's consideration whom you may think fit to

to propose, of a superior character, to introduce
Mr. Dean with it; and remain, with all due respect,

Your Lordship's most dutiful
and humble servants,

THO. TULLIE *, Vice-dean.

HUGH TODD †.

GEO. FLEMING ‡.

P. S. Mr. Atkinson § left us yesterday.

* See p. 322.

† See p. 17.

‡ George Fleming, was born in 1667, at the family seat of Rydall, in Westmorland, the fifth of eleven sons of Sir Daniel Fleming, knight (afterwards baronet), by Barbara daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher, bart. He was entered at Edmund Hall in 1688; M.A. 1694; and being appointed domestic chaplain to Bp. Smith, was by him collated to the Vicarage of Asparick in 1695; and in 1700 to the second prebend in the cathedral church of Carlisle. He was collated by Bp. Nicolson to the archdeaconry in 1705; promoted to the deanery in 1727; and advanced to the Bishoprick of Carlisle in 1734. He died at Rose Castle, in the 81st year of his age; and was buried in his Cathedral, where a marble monument is thus inscribed:

“ Here is deposited till a general resurrection,
whatever was mortal of

the right reverend Father in God,

SIR GEORGE FLEMING, Baronet, late Lord Bishop of Carlisle,

whose regretted dissolution was July 2, 1747,

in the 81st year of his age, and the 13th of his Consecration.

A Prelate,

who, by gradual and well-merited advancements,
having passed through every dignity to the Episcopal,
supported that

with an amiable assemblage of graces and virtues,

which eminently formed in his character

the courteous Gentleman and the pious Christian,

and rendered him a shining ornament

§ John Atkinson, prebendary of the first stall 1702—1733.
He was also treasurer.

128. TO DR. ATTERBURY,
DEAN OF CARLISLE.

MR. DEAN,

JULY 1, 1706.

YOU have here an Address, signed by me and our brethren of the Chapter; and it is our joint request, that (having subscribed it yourself) you will wait on my Lord Treasurer; who, by the inclosed, is humbly desired to introduce you to her Majesty's presence, to make this common tender of our duty.

I am ever, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

W. CARLIOL.

to his species, his nation, his order.

His deportment,

in all human relations and positions,

was squared by the rules of Morality and Religion,

under the constant direction of a consummate prudence;

whilst his equanimity,

amidst all events and occurrences,

in an inviolable adherence to the golden medium,

made him easy to himself, and agreeable to others,

and had its reward

in a chearful life, a serene old age, a composed death.

His excellent pattern

was a continual lesson of goodness and wisdom,

and remains in his ever reverable memory

an illustrious object of praise and imitation."

This Bishop, having cut down and sold some wood belonging to the Bishoprick, ordered an exact account thereof; and how the money raised thereby was disposed of, to be entered in his registry.

129. TO THE LORD HIGH TREASURER *.

MY LORD,

JULY 1, 1706.

THE Clergy of this place having unanimously signed a dutiful Address to her Majesty, on occasion of the many late glorious Successes of Her Arms, do likewise join in this humble petition to your Lordship, that your Lordship would be pleased to do us the honour to introduce (to her Majesty's presence) Mr. Dean of Carlisle, who is desired to make this tender of our common duty. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most obliged humble servant,

W. CARLIOL.

130. TO THE EARL OF THANET.

MY LORD,

JULY 1, 1706.

ON Monday last I paid your Lordship's money to Mr. Gillan, a gentleman now deputed (as he was the last year) by the Commissioners of that Charity, to receive and carry it from hence. The Bishop of Edinburgh † tells me, that his brother of Aberdeen ‡ is now fallen into very low circumstances; both he and his son (with their two families) living upon a farm of

* Sidney lord Godolphin; who in the December following was created earl of Godolphin.

† Dr. Alexander Ross, who had been ejected at the Revolution.—He has been noticed in a former letter, p. 15; where the blanks of "Bp. of E." have been too hastily filled up with *Ely* instead of *Edinburgh*.

‡ Dr. George Haliburton; who had also been ejected. He died in 1715.

sixty pounds *per annum*. There are also (both at Edinburgh and on our Borders) several of the inferior Clergy, whose fortunes are quite spent; and yet (having formerly been contributors) they have not yet any share of the common support. To these I have ventured to allot thirty pounds: the other seventy pounds being paid in the lump.

If the Union goes on, that general indulgence which the Episcopal Clergy look for (as one necessary condition in this treaty), will lessen the burthen of their sufferings for the future: but the sudden return of some of their Plenipotentiaries, before the work is finished, makes them doubt of the success.

Yours, &c.

W. CARLIOL.

131. FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

MY LORD, BISHOPS-THORP, JULY 24, 1706.

IT having been thought fit in Council, that inquiries be made concerning Papists and reputed Papists, in parishes and places, as well exempt as not exempt, throughout the kingdom; they have, in order thereunto, sent a Letter to me, to be communicated to the Bishops of this Province, a copy of which I here send your Lordship. So, not doubting of your Lordship's care in this matter, I heartily commend you to the protection and blessing of the Almighty; and am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate brother,

JO. EBOR.

132. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

FROM THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, AT WINDSOR,
THE 15TH DAY OF JULY, 1706.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your Grace: Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, have, by their humble Address, acquainted her Majesty with several instances of the very great boldness and presumption of the Romish Priests and Papists in this kingdom, together with their humble opinion, that, for the safety of her Majesty's royal person and government, a more watchful eye should be had over them for the future; and for that purpose, that a distinct and particular account should be taken of all Papists and reputed Papists in this kingdom, with their respective qualities, estates, and places of abode. And, to the end the said account may be the more exact and useful, we do, in her Majesty's name, and by her express command, hereby pray and require your Grace to issue out your orders to all the Bishops within your Province, directing them to require the Clergy in their several dioceses, in parishes and places as well exempt as not exempt, to take an exact and particular account of the number of the Papists and reputed Papists in every parish, with their qualities, estates, and places of abode, and to return the same to the respective Diocesans, who are to return the same to your Grace, in order to be laid before her Majesty. And your Grace is likewise to require such Bishops, in their several Dioceses, to proceed against such of the Clergy as shall
refuse

refuse or neglect to do their duty in respect to the said service, according to the utmost severity of the law; and also, to return the names of the Clergy who shall be defective in performing the said service, in parishes and places as well exempt as not exempt, that the same may be in like manner laid before her Majesty. And it is her Majesty's further pleasure, that your Grace do require the several Bishops within your Province, by all proper ways and means, to inform themselves what advowsons, or rights of presentation or donation of churches, benefices, or schools, are in the disposition of any Papists or reputed Papists, or of any in trust for them, in parishes and places exempt as well as not exempt, and to return what they shall find particularly and distinctly to your Grace; to the intent the same may be likewise represented to her Majesty. And so, not doubting of the due performance of this service by your Grace's especial care and direction, we bid your Grace very heartily farewell.

GODOLPHIN.

SOMERSET.

CH. HEDGES.

JA. VERNON.

J. HOLT.

PEMBROKE, P.

SCHONBURG AND LEINSTER.

H. BOYLE.

J. SMYTH.

P. BERTIE.

RO. HARLEY.

133. TO MR. FORBES.

SIR,

ROSE, AUG. 27, 1706.

THE bearer brought me your printed reply to your old friend of Banchory. To my surprize, I find myself appealed to by both of you; and, since I am so, you will easily pardon my freedom in approving the course you have resolved on, of letting your aged antagonist have the last word, if he thinks fit to write any more on this subject. You cannot suffer by his keeping the field; seeing, as I verily believe, most of your readers will retain their first sentiments, as firmly as I do. The day (I trust) is not far off, whereon the chief and most Pagan wall of partition that is in this Island will be entirely broken down; when we shall have an opportunity of conversing frankly with one another, and thereby learning that there is a great deal more of Christianity and good-nature, on all sides, than the prepossessions of a party-education will (as yet) allow some of us to believe. The Germans have a proverbial saying, "there are men on the other side of the water:" by which they mean that humanity, and a civil behaviour, is not confined to one sect or clan.

May God so dispose the hearts and minds of our Parliaments, that they be happily able to perfect what has been so unanimously advanced by the Commissioners of both kingdoms.

Yours, &c.

W. CARLIOL.

134. TO MR. ARCHDEACON FLEMING.

MR. ARCHDEACON,

SEPT. 2, 1707.

I FIND that Mr. Dean, upon your communicating to him some papers * which I lately sent to you and the Chapter relating to the Bishop's visiting of the Cathedral, has directed my Brother † to make further search in the books here; and to copy for him whatever else may be found concerning that

* "The same state with the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, are those of Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, Rochester, and Durham. The old possessions generally kept. Fuller, l. 6, p. 338.

Ely, Robert Steward, the last Prior and first Dean, surrendered A. D. 1539.

Canterbury, Tho. Goldwell, the last prior, resigned A.D. 1540.

Winchester, Wm. Basyngge, the like, A.D. 1539.

Worcester, Henry Holbech, last Prior and first Dean, resigned A. D. 1540.

Norwich, Wm. Castleton, supposed to have resigned A. D. 1540.

Rochester, Walter Philips, last Prior and first Dean, A. D. 1540.

Durham, Hugh Whitehead, as the fore-mentioned, A.D. 1540.

These in *Anglia Sacra*, part 1.

Priory of Carlisle surrendered Jan. 13, A^o 30^{mo} Hen. VIII. i. e. A. D. 1539.

See the foundation of Bishoprick of Westminster; Hist. Ref. tom. I. Coll. Recc. p. 246. Bp. Bonner's Protestation and Revocation, tom. II. Coll. Recc. p. 112. Preamble to 26 H. VIII. c. 1." W. CARLIOL.

† Joseph Nicolson, Notary Public, and Apparitor-general for the diocese and city of Carlisle; afterwards LL.D. and Chancellor of Lincoln. He died Sept. 5, 1728.—Another brother died May 15, 1724, whilst Master of the Apothecaries Company in London.

matter.

matter. If you and the Chapter think fit to commissionate my brother, and any other public Notary, to inspect your books, parchments, and papers, and to report their remarks to me and yourselves, I shall readily agree to the like searches here *. And, per-

* The result of this search is thus preserved by Bp. Nicolson :

“ 1564, May 2, Mr. Gregory Scott, collated to a vacant prebend, *de canonicâ obedientiâ nobis, &c. deque fideliter observando statuta et ordinationes ac laudabiles ejusdem Ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis Carliol. consuetudines, quatenus te ratione dictarum canonicatûs et prebende tangunt et concernunt, ad Sancta Dei Evangelia primitus jurat*, &c. Reg. J. Best, p. 14.

1568. John Magbraye, installatus [per Hug. Sewel, S.T.P. super mortem Ed. Mitchell] ibidemque recepit juramentum pro observatione Statutorum dicti Collegii consuetorum—in formâ consuetâ. Ibid. p. 20. In November (the same year) he resigned to Mr. Thomas Tookie, Vicar of Torpenhow, p. 25.

1570. Mr. Arthur Keye collated (by Bp. Barnes) to a vacant prebend—per byrreti nostri traditionem, &c. No mention made of the oath for observing of the Statutes : but a mandate to the Dean and Chancellor for installation. Reg. Barnes, p. 35.

1574. Mr. Tho. Tookie resigns to Mr. John Barnes, who is collated (to the second prebend, says the margin) as above. Ib. p. 60.

1574. On resignation of Mr. Ar. Key, the fourth prebend given to Mr. Tho. Burton, per byrreti nostri traditionem. Ib. p. 61.

1576. On the death of Mr. Greg. Scott, Mr. Tho. Burton collated to the third prebend. Ib. p. 78. The same year Burton resigned, and was succeeded (in the 4th prebend, says the margin) by Mr. Geo. Flowre. Ib. p. 82.

1577. Mr. Ant. Walkwood collated (per byrreti nostri traditionem) to the third prebend, April 8, on resignation of Mr. Tho. Burton. Ib. p. 84.

1577. 21 Jan. Mr. Tho. Fairfax, S. T. P. collated to the second prebend on resignation of Mr. John Barnes (per byrreti traditionem). Reg. Mey, p. 93.

1582. Mr. Edward Hansby, Th. B. collated to the fourth prebend (July 10), on the resignation of G. Flowre. Ib. p. 119.

1584. On the death of the said Hansby, Mr. Ed. Maplett collated, March 4, to the fourth prebend. Ib. p. 133.

1585.

haps, this may be the means of preventing objections amongst our successors; though it can be of little use to one who is already so well satisfied in that point as

Yours, &c.

W. CARLIOL.

1585. On the death of Mr. Hugh Sewel, the first prebend given (per traditionem Byrreti) to Edmund Bunnie, S.T.B. July 2. Ib. p. 137.

1595. Mr. William Meye, A.M. (on the resignation of John Meye, LL.B. collated to the second prebend (per byrreti traditionem) October 3. Ib. p. 190. The same week (Oct. 7) the Bishop constitutes Nic. Dean, A.M. Prælector in S. Th. et Scholarcha, in the Cathedral, and commands Sir John Wollie (or the Vice-dean) and Chapter to install him. Ibid. The like mandate on behalf of Rich. Pilkinton, M.A. on the 1st of Jan. following. Ib. p. 192.

1597. Aug. 15, Mr. R. Pilkington, being now Archdean, the Bishop grants the dignity of Divinity-Reader (as above) to Rob. Dobson, chaplain to Thomas Lord Scroop, &c. Ib. p. 199.

1598. Dec. 9, Mr. Rich. Sibson, S. Th. B. collated to the aforesaid dignity, &c. by Bp. Robinson. Reg. Rob. p. 206.

1599. Feb. 6, Bp. Robinson directs his mandate to the Vice-dean for the installment of Archdean G. Robinson. Ib. p. 211.

1602. March 18, Mr. Rich. Sibson, S. Th. B. collated (on resignation of Edm. Bunnie) to the first prebend, per byrreti, &c. Ib. p. 223.

N. B. All these Prebendaries take the oath of Canonical Obedience.

1619. July 13, Lanc. Dawes, M.A. collated to the first prebend, on resignation of Rich. Snowden, M.A. Reg. Sn. p. 250.

1632. April 23, Wm. Dodding, M.A. collated to the first prebend, on the death of John Fletcher, S.T.D. Reg. Pott. p. 277.

1634. Lewis West (Nov. 3), collated to the third prebend, on the death of Bern. Robinson, S.T.B. Ibid. p. 283.

1637. Rich. Smith, S.T.B. collated (May 18) to the fourth prebend, on the death of W. Dodding. Ib. p. 291.

1640. Fred. Tunstall, M.A. collated to the second prebend, on the death of Thomas Fairfax. Ib. p. 306. [4 Julii.]

1643. Henry Hutton had the fourth prebend given him on the death of R. Smith, by Archbishop Usher. Reg. Usher, p. 316."

135. FROM

*135. FROM DR. TANNER TO MR.
GIBSON †.

DEAR SIR,

ALL-SOULS, APRIL 13, 1699.

THE inclosed Roman inscriptions were taken last summer in Scotland by Mr. Urry, Student of Christ Church; by whose leave I send this copy of them to you. He is a very curious gentleman, and therefore, I believe, you may safely depend upon their being exactly taken. Two of them have a great deal of carved work about them, which I would not pretend to delineate, neither was it drawn very well in Mr. Urry's papers. The letters and figures are exactly as upon the stones; but I was forced to write the third line in the third inscription longer than ordinary, though it ought to be of the same length with the rest. I thought these might be of use to you, if ever you should put out a Latin Camden.

We have no news here at present, but are all in expectation to hear of a new Bishop of Oxford; for all here take it for granted that Dr. Hough will be removed †; otherwise the canvass at Magdalen College will be spoiled; where, upon a vacancy, the Presidentship is like to fall to Dr. Hunt or Mr. Rogers §. Dr. Pudsey, I think, desists.

† Directed, "To the Reverend Mr. Gibson, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth."

‡ Dr. Hough was translated to Lichfield and Coventry; and Dr. William Talbot, Dean of Worcester, made Bishop of Oxford.

§ Dr. Hough had been permitted to hold the Presidency of Magdalen College *in commendam* with the See of Oxford; and retained it, with Lichfield and Coventry, and afterwards with Worcester, till 1701, when John Rogers, B. D. was elected, who died Feb. 10, 1703.

I should have been extremely pleased if, upon the death of the late Bishop of Worcester *, our friend Dr. Wake could have got into the House of Lords; but I rather wish him Bishop of any other place than this.

I believe I shall trouble you and the rest of my friends in London, about ten days or a fortnight hence; but, before that, you shall hear farther from
Yours most affectionately, THOM. TANNER.

1. PERTH. At a village called Balmudy, in the sole of a byyer window.

P. LEG. II. A

Q. LOLLIO. VR

LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

2. STIRLING. At Castle Cary's House.

H. BAT.

3. At Castle Hill near East Kilpatrick in the end of a small thatched Cottage.

IMP. CAESAR. T. AELIO

HADRIANO. ANTONINO

AVG. PIO. PP. VEXILLATO

LEG. VI. VICTR. P. F.

4. This stone was found at Caer Lieth, and is to be seen at Cockneugh.

IMP.

ANTON.

AVG.

PIO.

P.

P.

LEG.

II

AVG.

F. P. III. CCLXXII.

6. This was found at Dougalston.

IMP. CAES. TITO AELIO

HADRIANO ANTONINO

* Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, consecrated at Worcester by Dr. William Lloyd.

AVG. PIO. P. P. LEG. II

AVG. PER M. P. III. DC

LXVI. S

*136. SIR ROBERT SIBBALD TO
MR. LHUYD †.

SIR,

JULY 10, 1703.

I DID recommend the question to be proposed anent the language of the Highlanders, to my worthy friend Mr. Archbald Campbell, son to the Lord Noill Campbell, who told me he had sent them to one was best fitted to return answers to them. I have not yet seen the answers; but I shall mind Mr. Archbald Campbell of them, and so soon as I get them they shall be sent to you. I must recommend the bearer, Mr. Moor, an ingenious gentleman, and his pupil, the Master of Salton, to you. The Master is son to my good friend the Lord Salton, and is to pass some time of his education at Oxford: the youth is ingenious and well-natured, and I hope shall be a honour to his country. You can inform best whom he shall most frequent; and, I intreat you, to give him and his tutor your best advice. I hope both of them will learn the Natural History in your Museum. I shall be glad to hear your work is well advanced you are printing. The expectation of what may be done at our Parliament, turns all men here from these studies. I have written, lately, a full account of the animals of the cetaceous kind, in our language; and also, "The History and De-

† Directed, "For his worthy friend Mr. Edward Lhuyd, Keeper of the Museum Ashmoleanum, at Oxford, These."

scription

scription of Fyffe, and the Rivers of Forth and Tay;" where I give an account of the Fishes in the Firths, and the Fowls which frequent the Hills in the Firth-of-Forth.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your leisure, and to know the state of learning since your last.

I am, Sir, your assured friend,

and most humble servant, R. SIBBALD.

The sudden departure of the gentlemen must excuse this short letter.

*137. MR. WANLEY TO DR. CHARLETT.

CAMBRIDGE, SEPT. 21, 1699.

MR. GIBSON wrote to me to know whether that is true which a certain Prelate of our Church † stands charged with, about transcribing a letter of Luther's in Bene't Library. I had before perused the same letter with the printed copy in the "Reformation;" and, finding the difference between them to be great, could send him but a melancholy sort of an answer. H. WANLEY.

*138. MR. KNIGHT TO BP. GIBSON.

MY LORD,

ELY, JAN. 26, 1719-20.

SINCE I have been here upon my residence, I have taken some pains in looking over and transcribing several of our antient charters and writings belonging to this Church. I find more than I expected, or (as I think) have been taken notice of;

† Dr. Gilbert Burnet,

which

which almost tempts me to set about the History and Antiquities of this Church, either in that way which Mr. Gunton wrote his of Peterborough in, or else “*Annales ecclesiæ Elyensis ex autographis aliisque MSS. contexti*,” &c. I have ventured to trouble your Lordship upon this affair, for your advice and assistance, if your Lordship has any materials which may be of any use to me. My friend Dr. Tanner is abundantly more fit for such an undertaking than myself; but his hands are so full of other work, that it must be for ever despaired of from him. I did hint to him, in one of my last Letters, what your Lordship said to me when in town last, about his finishing his “Leland.” I will give your Lordship his own words in answer to me: “If it please God to spare my life, I shall not forget to put together what I have collected for the improvement of ‘*Leland de Viris Illustribus*’; but they having, ten years since, printed the text at Oxford (scarce with fair usage of me, whom they knew to be engaged about it before) I did cool a little—but when I get through this edition of ‘*Notitia Monastica*,’ I shall resume the other. Mr. Anthony Wood’s papers were bequeathed to me under a condition to publish them; and no fairer can be offered than now, when Mr. Tonson is reprinting the ‘*Athenæ*.’ If I should not have suffered them to be published, they might one time or other have fallen into hands less tender of the reputation of the dead and living. I believe you know me so well as to vouch for me, that I am as seldom idle as anybody, having not for some years allowed myself a week’s time to relax amongst my friends, especially in London.”

I tran-

I transcribed thus much from his letter to me, hoping it would not be unacceptable to your Lordship to know what he is doing now, and what we may expect hereafter from him. Dr. Watson, being now in town, can (if your Lordship thinks fit) give an account of those Antiquities lately found in North Britain. Your Lordship has heard of those at Trumpington, in Mr. Tompson's possession.

I am your Lordship's most obedient servant,

SAM. KNIGHT.

P. S. I saw last night that the two vacancies in the List of King's Chaplains are filled up. I shall be contented to wait for another opportunity, or when my friends shall think proper.

*139. MR. GAY TO MAURICE JOHNSON,
JUN. ESQ.

SIR,

LONDON, JAN. 13, 1713.

I COULD not but lay hold on this occasion of returning you thanks for all your former favours; and, I must confess, I have deferred it longer than otherwise I should have done, to wait for this opportunity. I cannot as yet give you any account of the success of the Poem, this being the first day of its being published. Her Grace and Lady Isabella seem not displeased with my offering: I hope, when you criticise, you will remember I am your friend; but I need not put you in mind of that, since you have already given such sincere proofs of your friendship towards your most obliged humble servant, JOHN GAY.

Pray present my humble service to your father.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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